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THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

A STATE-CHURCH THE NURSE AND PATRONESS OF WAR.

"Lo! where the giant on the mountain stands
His blood-red tresses deepening in the sun;
With death-shot glowing in his fiery hands
And eye that scorches all it glares upon."

HERE is the poet's impersonation of war—and even thus arrayed in gorgeous words and figures it is hateful. But war, to be seen aright, must be presented to the mind in plain, unsophisticated prose—or, more properly, stripped down to a naked definition. Is not the whole philosophy of war summed up in few words? A sword is an instrument constructed and employed to hack in pieces that exquisite piece of mechanism, through the medium of which man sustains his relationship to the natural world, and gathers such happiness as he may out of the material universe of God; and war is the trial of any question by the issue, whether say ten thousand swords shall destroy the Creator's noblest handiwork more swiftly and more effectually than other ten thousand. We have heard men talk in quivering indignation of machine breakers. The poor misguided Luddites, however, against whom every man took up his parable and vented his execration, simply knocked to pieces certain cunning combinations of iron and wood—kings, courtiers, and the aristocracy have out-done them in the work of machine breaking; and have taken delight in gashing, perforating, rending and battering to shreds and atoms, the wondrous and divinely constructed engine by which life works out its great results, and the movements of which are regulated by thought.

What says Christianity of the sword? What could she say—she whose Master declared with emphasis that he came into the world not to destroy but to save men's lives? What, but declare that they who take the sword shall perish by the sword? What, but renounce its proffered aid and assert that the weapons of her warfare are not carnal but spiritual?

And yet this same sword, this instrument for spilling life and reducing to dust the shrine of man's spirit, does the state church stoop to pick up—baptises it and calls it christian—says to it, "Be thou my guardian, and subdue people to the purposes of my will"—sends it forth to collect her wealth—and even now exhibits it as the ultimate arbiter of her claims.

Sophisticate and mystify as we will, what is a state-church but a priesthood carving their way to temporalities by the power of the sword? The system has its basis in physical force. The germ and essential principle of war is the inmost core of it. It takes the art of destruction into its bosom, and avowedly weds it—separates it to its own especial purpose, and thus sanctifies it in the estimation of the world. Analyse the ideas involved in the notion of a religious establishment—and what, stripped of all ornament, is the elementary principle it involves? Just this—power lent to the church to blow a man's brains out of his head for the sake of christianity. We defy any man to make aught else of it.

We say then of a state-church that she is the nurse and patroness of war. Necessarily so. She adopts compulsion, which is the abstract of which the sword is the concrete, and of which the destruction of God's best and most exquisitely skilful mechanism is the result. She clothes force—the force which breaks in pieces, but not builds—with the seeming sanction of heaven; she links religion arm in arm with the madness against which the command of the Highest is levelled, and which real christianity repudiates with unwonted scorn—the madness which tramples upon God's image in his own creatures.

Trace the history of this, or any other state-church, and almost every footstep plashes in the blood of man. How many brave and beauteous edifices of humanity have been shattered and left in ruins at the behest of this sword-allied church; formerly, in assertion of her right to prescribe the faith—latterly, in maintenance of her determination to fleece the wealth, of quiet, unoffending men! Directly or indirectly, for her own especial purposes, or for purposes which she sanctioned as nearly affecting her worldly privileges, what havoc has she not made of a nation's peace? Unnumbered have been the souls which at her bidding have been sent prematurely into the presence of the great judge—altogether incalculable the social ties which she has hewn asunder with cold steel! And even now, does she not until this day, by her union with sword-power, practically assert that the doctrine "killing is no murder" is part and parcel of the law of Christ.

That the state-church can effectually denounce the art of manslaying is impossible. Must she not, to all intents and purposes, patronise that by which she lives? This is no speculation, the question is answered by facts. Where are the great proficients in the science of war? those who have been most successful in mangling and defacing wretched humanity? Where, but in the councils of the nation, made hereditary legislators for the church, mingling with bishops, and receiving tokens of their admiration? In what places are deposited the coloured rags about which nations fought, and which were secured only by the most determined defiance of the command "Thou shalt not kill?" Are not the trophies of slaughter hung up in our churches? Men are encouraged to blow other men, whom they have never seen, and between whom and themselves there exists not a particle of enmity, to atoms, by exhortations to stand by the altar and the throne;—and, by thanksgivings and prayers for victory, by priestly addresses and priestly benedictions, they have been taught to believe that in cutting throats they were serving God, and in firing musket-balls through other men's hearts and heads they were laying up for themselves a reward in heaven.

Should it be objected that this same war-spirit is found among dissenters and has been fostered by dissenting divines, we reply, the fact only proves the terrible extent to which the national conscience has been seared, and the fatal success which has followed the association of religion with the power of the sword. All men, even the best, have come to look upon bloodshed with but little horror. All classes and all sects have been educated to regard it as a stern necessity which christianity itself must recognise. From generation to generation the coloured glass which a state-church first put into the hands of men, through which to look at the grim and ghastly features of war, has been handed down, so that it is small matter of surprise if even now the monster is not seen in its own light—a thing of which the gospel is abhorrent.

In early ages, history informs us, the church of Christ stood aloof from the sword-power—would hold no communion with it, lend it no sanction. True to her glorious end, she laboured everywhere to construct, and refused to be any party to destroy. Had she retained her noble and godlike position, who can doubt that ere this the sword had been beaten into the ploughshare? By resorting to the sword, partly to enforce the claims of priestly ambition, partly to guard the hoards of priestly wealth, she gave to it a new long lease of power, and threw a veil of sanctity over the hideous countenance of war which she had once turned from with inexpressible loathing. What is the result? Manslaying is, even in these days of boasted enlightenment, the most honourable profession; and he who with most address and skill lets out streams of life, is lauded as the hero whom it best becomes the country to exalt.

So long as there is alliance between religion and physical force it must be so. Thus is the sword sanctified, and all the seeds of war preserved in the crypts and coffers of the church. How can a deep and universal disapprobation of the science of man-destroying be diffused whilst what is called the visible and authorised christianity of our land employs it as a body-guard, and enlists it for possible service by solemn compact with such as have the management of it? Why should we deceive ourselves? Either this world must be subdued by the sword or by the bible. They cannot reign conjointly. One or the other must give way. The attempt to connect the one with the other only prolongs the dominion of physical force. The advocate of a state-church, is, unconsciously but very effectually, the advocate of the sword.

THE CONSTITUTIONS AND CANONS ECCLESIASTICAL OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

III. The church of England, a true and apostolical church (!!!)

Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the church of England, by law established under the king's majesty, is not a true and apostolical church, teaching and maintaining the doctrine of the apostles, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored but only by the archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of this his wicked error.

IV. Impugners of the public worship of God established in the church of England censured.

Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the form of God's worship in the church of England, established by law, and contained in the book of common prayer and administration of sacraments, is a corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful worship of God, or containeth anything in it that is repugnant to the scriptures, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored but by the bishop of the place, or archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of such his wicked errors.

V. Impugners of the articles of religion established in the church of England censured.

Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that any of the nine and thirty articles agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord God, 1562, for avoiding diversities of opinions, and for establishing of consent touching true religion, are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored but only by the archbishops, after his repentance and public convocation of such his wicked errors.

A correspondent writes as follows:—"About two months ago a person called on me demanding 8*d*., which he termed 'Easter dues,' claimed by the Rev. Edward Addenbrooke, curate of Ipsley, Warwickshire, and *locum tenens* of a Mr. Dolbin, *not yet of age to be ordained to the living*. I refused payment on the grounds of my not knowing Mr. A., and never having had dealings of any kind with him. In a few minutes afterwards Mr. A. called in person, and demanded my grounds for refusing payment. We held a long conversation on the subject, I urging on my side the injustice and unscripturalness of the demand; and he, on the other hand, as firmly maintaining his legal right to the amount in question. Not wishing to expose himself, he urged me to plead poverty as an excuse, in order that he might forgive me the debt: this I mildly and firmly resisted. He then promised to give it to the poor, to which I answered, 'If you want a donation for the poor, and do not name a sum, I will give you more than 8*d*. If you claim it as a right I will suffer joyfully the spoiling of my goods—yea, moreover, bonds and imprisonment rather than pay it.' In a few days afterwards I received a summons to appear before two or three rev. magistrates at Alceston, who all declared they had no interest in the matter. Having to leave home, the affair was allowed to remain unsettled until my return. Accordingly, on the 18th inst. the parish constable levied the distress. A feather-bed was first seized and brought down stairs; but that not being very portable, my watch was taken down from the mantelpiece, and carried away to be sold on Tuesday, the 23d inst., for 8*d*., with 13*s*. costs of court, to which shall be added auctioneers' and bailiffs' fees. Peaceful emissaries of the 'Prince of Peace.' Is it without reason that ye pray for 'mercy for the fatherless and widow, and all that are desolate and oppressed?'"

A vestry meeting was held at Kettering on Thursday last, to pass the churchwardens' accounts, and grant a new rate; the curate in the chair. A motion was made by a member of the society of friends, that two auditors should be appointed to examine the accounts, and the meeting adjourned for a week to receive their report. An amendment was then moved by a churchman, and seconded by a dissenter, that the accounts should be passed in the usual manner; which was carried, and the accounts were passed. A rate of 3*d*. in the pound was then obtained, no opposition to the motion being made.

On Wednesday a distress warrant was served upon the Rev. George Francies, baptist minister, residing at No. 61, Walnut Tree walk, Lambeth, for rates made in 1837 and 1839, to pay for the new churches recently erected in that borough. The amount of the rates was 16*s*. 8*d*., the expenses 12*s*. 8*d*., for which they took from his study the following books:—Matthew Henry's Commentary, three volumes folio; Ridgeley's Body of Divinity, two vols. do.; Chambers' Dictionary, two do. do.; Baptist Magazines, thirteen vols.; in all, 20 volumes, worth nearly 7*l*. Messrs. Christy and Co., glass manufacturers, of the Palace New road, Lambeth, have also been subjected by the same authorities to the seizure of various articles of their manufacture, value 55*l*., for a demand of about 20*l*. for church rates.

THE "CHURCH INTELLIGENCER."

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—I am sorry to observe the retrograde movements of the *Church Intelligencer*. From the apparent earnestness with which the controversy on both sides was conducted, I had hoped that it would not degenerate into a mere logomachy, or a weekly exchange of editorial witticisms and personalities; but that some important principles would be developed—some interesting facts established. Many of your readers, I am aware, thought differently from the first. They were persuaded that the confidence of your contemporary was assumed; and that under the guise of honest intention and dispassionate inquiry, would be found lurking no inconsiderable amount of cowardly evasion and disingenuity. I regret that his present course is in full confirmation of such suspicions. In ostensibly describing his opponent, in the opening paragraph of his last article, he has hit off his own character to perfection; and, while employed in the delineation, it is marvellous that the resemblance did not strike him. Inveterately prejudiced in favour of himself, he charges all his polemical delinquencies on you; and then, with an affectation of innocence truly ridiculous, holds up your character to public reprobation. We admit that his representation is sufficiently odious, and do not admire you in his habiliments; but we cannot forget that the transfer is fictitious. The imputation to you of his own vices is a trick too clumsy to succeed; and, turning from the intended scapegoat to the real culprit, we say to the editor of the *Church Intelligencer*, "Thou art the man."

The proof is not difficult. In the first article he issued in direct antagonism to the *Nonconformist*, he loudly complained of your substituting assumption for proof, and authoritatively called upon you to establish your position that church property is national property. The challenge thus boldly given was immediately accepted, and a reply produced which he dared not record on his pages. His next number contained a rejoinder, and your succeeding one a prompt response. To this, no reply has yet been offered, but in lieu of it we are treated with a long homily on your editorial delinquencies. No doubt, Mr. Editor, you have your faults, but what bearing have they on the question of ecclesiastical revenue? Surely there can be no intention of claiming a tenth part of them on behalf of the clergy! But what is the tenour of his complaint against you? Is it that you have evaded his arguments, or wandered from your point, or introduced irrelevant matter? By no means: in both documents you have rigidly adhered to the mooted question, and resisted numerous temptations to digression, presented by the flippancy and indiscretion of your adversary. What then is your offence? Why, that you have not stopped in the discussion of an important subject to dispose of a little controversial gossip that appeared in his journal of the 2d inst. The folly of such a complaint is not easily characterised. An editorial article has of course its proper limits; and the subject under notice was sufficiently ample and important to justify the non-introduction of any subordinate topics; besides being to the readers of both papers, of immeasurably greater interest than the small talk of your garrulous brother. In confining yourself, therefore, within the limits of your argument, and in not following the erratic course of your contemporary, you have simply discharged your duty. But has he done his? Has he answered your article intitled, "The testimony of history *in re* tithes?" Certainly not. Instead of fairly grappling with its reasoning, he has not even made an allusion to the subject, nor an apology for a non-reference to it; but reverts to his article of the previous "fortnight" for a digressive topic; and, as though that was not sufficiently wide of the mark, goes as far back as July 7th for materials to patch up an article. And now let candid men fix the brand on the real delinquent, and say who it is that fails to make good his positions, and who when "pressed close for something like proof grows angry, and kicks up a dust, with which he hopes to blind people's eyes, so that he may call away their attention from his difficulties, and escape from them without detection." I think even a jury of clergymen would not in this case acquit their craven champion.

The assurance with which he holds forth against "empty declamation and vague assertions," and the gravity with which he rebukes you for your destitution of the cardinal virtues, may well provoke a smile from the most phlegmatic. He intimates that you are not only a very graceless wight, but that you are so in spite of his pathetic dehortations, and the lustre of his pious example. Alas, Sir, what must the world think of you when the fact becomes generally known, that you have been sitting for a month at the feet of this modern Gamaliel without learning a single lesson of dignified forbearance, sober deportment, or controversial wisdom? How long is he thus to cast his pearls before swine? Among other indications of moral obliquity, he finds it necessary to reprove you for the sin of anger. It is true, that he himself is not on this score entirely without sin, and even in the last document he has not been able to repress sundry ebullitions of ruffled temper. But then you must remember that *he* is a churchman and a privileged person, and *you* a dissenter and a heretic; and this constitutes a mighty difference. It would be fatal to your reputation to impute to an adversary, "lying rant," an "awfully depraved heart," and the propagation of "vile trash," "slander," "poison," and "falsehood;" but in the *Church Intelligencer* these indications of unhallowed feeling are sinless, or at least are deemed perfectly compatible with christian meekness, polemical courtesy, and the "charity" which "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." "Alas," as he once pensively remarked, "What a selfish, and therefore what an inconsistent, being is man."

But he not only labours to convict you of anger, but of causeless anger. He wonders what he has written to kindle your wrath against him, and professes to be perfectly unconscious of having practised any act of perversion. The plea of ignorance, when it is voluntary, is not, I apprehend, a valid one; but there is some pleasure in finding him not altogether callous to rebuke; for when, on another occasion, you charged him with perverting your meaning, or reducing it to "stark nonsense," he concluded a shuffling defence by expressing a hope that you would not "contend about trifles." As he invites attention to the disputed paragraph, I will, for the information and scrutiny of your readers, produce the passage on which he has exercised his expositorial skill. It reads thus:—

"And lastly, the less that is said about popery the better, for every expression of indignant horror at the papal system tells powerfully against that church in which all the worst principles of popery are cherished, and most of its doctrines retained."

The import of the sentence is so obvious that he who runs may read. It charges popery on the establishment, and, on that ground, recommends the *Intelligencer* not to drag popery into the discussion for fear of the recoil of his own weapons. In what, then, does the alleged perversion consist? In making you pay a compliment to popery which you never intended. After dissociating the clauses of the sentence, he proceeds, "'if every expression of indignant horror at the papal system tells powerfully against' those who utter it," &c. It is at this point the unfair construction begins: *your* phrase is "against that church," which you describe as semi-popish—*his* substitution is "against those who utter it," without any qualification. The sense conveyed by *you* is, that popery cannot be successfully opposed by those who cling to its skirts—the idea embodied in *his* reading is, that the papal system is *invincible*, and that all aggressions upon it must end in the discomfiture of its assailants—an idea still more strongly intimated by the inquiry, "Can this passage have been written by any body but an arrant papist." Thus an unambiguous sentence, pointed against the popery of the English church, and not intended to eulogize popery in any form, is, by a species of polemical legerdemain, made to speak in direct compliment to that antichristian system. When this veracious scribe pens his following ecclesiastical article, it is to be hoped he will give better proof of having attended the services of the church with some moral advantage; and when the solemn declaration, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour," is next sounded in his ears, it will be well for him to remember his own violation of the sacred canon, and penitently to put up the authorised response, "Lord have mercy upon me, and incline my heart to keep this law."

The *Intelligencer* takes great credit to himself for having quoted a few paragraphs from an article written by you prior to the controversy, and calls this setting you "a good example," forgetting that much nearer materials ought to have engrossed his attention, and that it is your uniform practice to insert the whole of his estimable documents unmutilated in your columns. If his example had any authority with you, it would be on the side of *suppression*, not *publication*; but it would materially shake our confidence in you were you to resort to such cowardly concealment. True, he allowed one of your articles to appear upon the pages of his journal, but the moment you entered upon the loudly-demanded proof of your assertions, his selections from the *Nonconformist* ceased. It matters, therefore, but little to *his* readers how much, or how well, you write in your own defence: the more completely you demolish his statements, or refute his cobweb sophisms, the more carefully will he guard his journal from the intrusions of your pen; a prudential measure, most probably, in which his friends will have the good sense to concur. At the same time, he will not forget to tell them that you are "nothing different" from other dissenting writers—that you have proved just nothing at all—and that he has scattered your loose statements to the winds of heaven; and all this they will very implicitly believe in, or piously endeavour so to do. No, Sir, even-handed justice and searching investigation are not among the means employed by your contemporary to promote "the cause of truth and godliness in the land." If any expression, in the haste of controversy, escape you that presents a point for verbal criticism, it will doubtless be duly exhibited for the amusement of the editor's "seven hundred" sacerdotal brethren; or if your statements at any time will admit of an ingenious evasion, they may, for that purpose, be submitted to the notice of the faithful among the laity; but trust me, Sir, whether the sting lies in the head or "tail" of your articles, he has too much discretion to contrast your vigorous productions with the meagre effusions of his own pen. No, when a plausible reply cannot be dressed up, the article demanding it must be carefully locked up in the editor's scrutoire, on the same principle that many of his pious brethren deem it unsafe to distribute the holy scriptures without the prayer-book for an accompaniment.

But I have already exceeded my intended limits, and must in haste subscribe myself

A WESLEYAN DISSENTER.

NEWSPAPER STAMP ONE PENNY NONCONFORMIST

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—A curious specimen of the unity of sentiment which pervades the conservative body on matters entering into the very essence of their principles, has been recently presented to the public by two of the leading journals connected with that party. In your last week's paper is an extract from a very able article, in Blackwood's Magazine, on the subject of non-intrusion, which, as you justly observe, gives a clear and concise exposition of the nature of an established church. Now the *Times* of last Tuesday contains an article devoted to the express purpose of supporting a proposition diametrically opposed to that which is sustained by its conservative coadjutor. The "church," says Maga, "is the *creature* of the state, and to the state is it indebted for all its temporalities." "The church," says the *Times*, "is *independent* of the state, and holds its temporalities in its *own* right."

Those publications, it will be observed, are the "organs and representatives" of conservative opinion. What are the opinions of conservatives upon this important question, as expressed by their "organs and representatives," is somewhat enigmatical. Doubtless they are unanimous, but their unanimity is wonderful.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
A CONSTANT READER.

Leicester, 20th July, 1841.

ANTI-CORN-LAW CONFERENCE AT MANCHESTER.

FIRST DAY, *Tuesday, August* 17.

THE great Conference of the ministers of religion, on the subject of the corn-law and other monopolies affecting the food of the people, commenced this day. It may be mentioned, as a proof of the great interest—we might almost say enthusiasm—which the people of Manchester felt on the subject, that many of the most respectable families in the town vied with each other in offering the reverend gentlemen accommodation in their houses. In addition to which an excellent dinner was provided daily at Mr. Hewitt's splendid Adelphi Hotel.

This morning the members of the Conference assembled in the Town-hall, and the benches were completely filled.

At ten o'clock the Rev. Mr. FLETCHER moved that the Rev. Dr. COX should take the chair.

The Rev. Mr. BEARDSALL seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The provisional chairman having taken his seat,

The Rev. Mr. M'KERROW moved,—

"That the following gentlemen be appointed the provisional committee:—Revs. Thomas Spencer, of Hinton; J. R. Beard, of Manchester; James Gwyther, of Hulme; James Griffin, of Manchester; J. Peters, of Rochdale; Robert Halley, D.D., of Manchester; W. Fraser, of Bolton; J. H. Hinton, of Devonshire-square, London; R. W. Hamilton, of Leeds: W. Bevan, of Liverpool; J. W. Massie, of Manchester; Daniel Hearne, of Manchester; J. L. Poore, of Manchester; Thomas Lee, of Sutton-in-Ashfield; John Thornton, of Stockport; Francis Skinner, of Blackburn; W. Chaplin, of Bishop's Stortford; Thomas Scales, of Leeds; J. G. Pike, of Derby; J. Sibree, of Coventry; Richard Fletcher, of Manchester; and W. M'Kerrow, of Manchester."

The Rev. Mr. GWYTHER seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously, and the committee retired.

The provisional committee having returned,

The Rev. Mr. SPENCER, of Bath, read the following resolutions to which they had come:—

"That the following gentlemen be requested to act as the officers of the Conference, during its sitting, viz.: President for each day:—Revs. T. Adkins, of Southampton; W. Chaplin, of Bishop's Stortford; F. A. Cox, D.D., of Hackney; and T. Spencer, of Hinton.

"That the following gentlemen be appointed the executive committee:—Revs. Thomas Scales, of Leeds; — Brown; R. W. Hamilton, of Leeds; Jas. Acworth, of Bradford; J. H. Hinton, of London; J. Carlile, of Hackney; F. Beardsall, of Manchester; W. Shuttleworth, of Manchester; — Jones; James Gwyther, of Manchester; Robert Halley, D.D., of Manchester; George Payne, D.D., of Exeter; J. L. Poore, of Manchester; J. Barfit, of Salisbury; — Somerville; — Bowen; J. Kelly, of Liverpool; J. E. Giles, of Leeds; J. Birt, of Manchester; S. Laidler, of Harleston, Norfolk; J. M. Obery, M.A., of Halifax; W. Roaf, of Wigan; J. G. Pike, of Derby; G. Redford, D.D., of Worcester; H. J. Roper, of Bristol; W. Scott, of Airedale College; T. East, of Birmingham; J. D. Beard, D.D., of Manchester; — Harvey, of Glasgow; — Baird, of Paisley; — Brewster, of Paisley; J. Burder, of Stroud; — Lewis, of Rochdale; Thomas Thomas, of Pontypool; and — Davis, of Carmarthen College."

The Rev. Dr. Cox then resigned the chair to

The Rev. THOMAS ADKINS, who addressed the meeting in an eloquent speech the substance of which we gave in our last number.

Dr. PYE SMITH regretted to state that his hearing was so imperfect that (except through the kindness of a dear friend who wrote for him) he was perfectly incapable of understanding anything that was said. He could not, consequently, take any part in the proceedings of a deliberative assembly. Being informed before he came that he would be expected to say something on the propriety of such a meeting, he had arranged a few thoughts for the purpose. He would, therefore, cast himself on the candour and charity of his friends, while he read a few words which he had prepared [cheers]. The doctor then proceeded as follows:—I feel myself deeply obliged to those christian ministers and other friends to their country and to mankind, who devised and have convened this meeting. I am sure, also, that my brethren who have come from their homes, and intermitted their sacred labours upon this occasion of solemn and imperative demand, will unite with me in acknowledging the ready hospitality with which so large a number of honourable families have welcomed us. We have come together in no capacity, assumed or implied, expressed or imagined, of authority. We are not a conclave, nor a synod, nor a convocation. We disclaim any pretensions of a right to make laws or regulations, or any desire to bind the consciences of our fellow christians, or to command their practice. We disclaim and abhor everything that might savour of disaffection to our beloved sovereign, and the constituted authorities of her realm, or of dictating measures to the legislature, or of fomenting discontent, or exciting to turbulence. We want to soothe, not to irritate; we long, and seek, and pray to do good and not evil—to promote harmony and beneficence, to invade no man's interest, to diminish no man's happiness, to "follow the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another." We have not assembled at the summons of any human authority. We are not here to do any man's biddings. We are not come to say with our tongues, or subscribe with our hands, any declarations or opinions with which our hearts do not accord. Our gathering together is the unforced act of each man's own will; and, so far from regarding this individual freeness of action as a circumstance to be regretted, we see in it an element of strength and success. We are come together as ministers and teachers of the christian religion. However diversely we may understand that religion, with respect to many and those important points of theological doctrine and ecclesiastical order, in this we are all agreed, that true religion requires of us and of all men, "to do justly and to love mercy," as well as "to walk humbly with our God;" we are all convinced that religion, virtue, and morality, cannot be separated from each other. We are drawn to this populous town, one of the most important in her Majesty's dominions, one of the most vital and sensitive parts of the body politic; because we have heard "the voice of the cry of our country—lamentation and bitter weeping; the harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved!" The cry of distress has pierced our souls. The woes of thousands and hundreds of thousands have demanded our sympathy. The fear of still greater evils has filled us with intense anxiety. We come to give vent to our fellow-feeling with the destitute and the sorrowful, and those that have no comforter. We come to raise a protest and a prayer on their behalf; and not more on their behalf, as a class of men, than on behalf of the rich and great; for we are convinced that all the orders of society, however immeasurably diversified, have one common bond of interest; and that it is folly, as well as injustice, for any class to attempt to raise itself upon the depression, or in any wise the injury, of any other. But while we disavow unfounded assumptions, we advance, indeed, a claim, but of a very different kind; we elevate another kind of authority—the claim of reason and love; the authority of "the righteous Lord, who loveth righteousness," and whose servants we are, not for our own aggrandizement, but for the universal good of mankind. We are impressed with the conviction, that this great law of righteousness is contradicted and violated, and rebellion is thus perpetrated against the majesty of Heaven, by doctrines and practices which for many centuries have been current among nations civilised, or professing to be so, with regard to trade; that is, the interchange of commodities, the products of skill and industry, between the different families and tribes of mankind. The corn-laws of our country have a deplorable pre-eminence in this class of unrighteous and suicidal legislation. They had their origin in the night of ignorant and barbarous ages, when men were trampled down by absurd and wicked monopolies and other usages, the outbreaks and badges of that insolent feudal tyranny which oppressed both nations and princes; and thus the human mind was abased to a low pitch of degradation, education and mental culture were extremely rare, knowledge and improvement had only a very slow and limited diffusion and men in general were accustomed to respect no argument but that of brute force. The principle upon which those usages rested originally was merely the law of strength, the logic of the savage and the brute. Afterwards ingenious men set themselves to find out arguments in their favour; and this was the case especially with respect to the corn-laws, five hundred years ago. The fundamental error was a mistaken idea of independence. But now we have the evidence of bitter experience to aid our conviction, that those are not the doctrines of reason and truth, but of superficial thinking, and of that blind selfishness which is the very essence of sin. The providence of God, by establishing the vast diversity of climate, soil, atmosphere, products of all kinds, and national capabilities, has abundantly demonstrated the intention that all the divisions of the human race should be dependent on each other. This is a constitution of the glorious Creator and Lord of all things, replete with wisdom and beneficence. By the giving and receiving of benefits, upon a system of unlimited progression, the evils of a rivalry founded on jealousy and enmity are made glaringly evident by the mutually hurtful consequences which spring from it; and, on the opposite side, kind affections are cherished, acts of friendship are called forth and encouraged, mutual rights are respected, justice is maintained, peace is loved and preserved, and war, that greatest scourge of mankind, the most prolific cause of guilt and misery, is seen in its pernicious character, and is disliked and avoided from the dictates of rational self-interest. Thus the doctrine and practice of free trade is in harmony with the essential principle and the benevolent design of the gospel. "Let nothing be done through strife or vain glory; but in lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves. Look not every man on his own things," his own selfish feelings and interests, "but every man also on the things of others," with a generous and liberal consideration. "See that none render evil for evil to any man, but ever follow that which is good, both among yourselves and to all men." To help forward this happy state of human relations is the object for which we have here assembled. These principles of morality are a part of "the whole counsel of God," which we are bound to teach, if we would be faithful ministers of Christ." Some persons may object that this and its allied subjects belong to the science of politics and political economy, and that it is not befitting to the ministers of religion to give opinions or advice upon them. Against the spirit of this objection I enter my determined protest. It can be advanced by only ignorance or unfairness. What are politics but the knowledge and practice of the claims of right and the obligations of duty which belong to men as members of society? Is not this knowledge and practice an essential part of morality? And is there, can there be, any religion without morality? As teachers of religion, therefore, we are bound to be teachers of politics, and to guard the important subject against errors and abuses. An extraordinary measure, like this assembly, is the only method left for our endeavouring to make the word of the Lord be heard in high places as well as in low; in towers and palaces, and in the pits and cellars where want and woe, disease and death, and many a form of misery, have fixed their dwelling. It is the violation of religious obligation, by our laws and law-makers, which, working through a course of years, has at length come to a term. Those laws have now reached to an amount of oppression and injury, and aggravated cruelty, which can no longer be endured. The alternative is the abrogation of the iniquity, or the ruin of the nation. Wise and honest men, versed in the inseparable means of public prosperity, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, have long foretold this crisis. It has arrived. It brings in its train of terror bodily diseases which will not be confined to the hovel, but will spread over the land, and mount to the most splendid mansions. A state of freedom from the extreme of misery is ordinarily necessary for the calm reflections and exercises of piety; but that state is destroyed by hunger and destitution, winter's keen cold, which soon will arrive, famished families, and "the first born of death," Desperation is engendered. The burning discontent cannot be always smothered. We are walking on the fires below. They threaten eruptions. Then will military execution renew its horrors; and the terrible

catastrophe will befal us of a revolutionary anarchy, or a stern, revengeful, and unsparing tyranny. Ah! how little do the men reflect who have snatched the morsel of hope from the lips of the famishing million, what retribution they have been preparing for themselves! In the event of a national convulsion—which almighty mercy avert! —they will be among the first victims to infuriated revenge. In the righteous judgment of God, often one terrible form of sin is the instrument of punishment to another. We indulge the hope, that the facts which will be detailed by the christian ministers who can bear testimony to the state of the manufacturing and labouring poor will by their statements be presented to the public notice in a manner which will obtain the merited attention of all classes, and in every part of our country. We cherish the hope that the evidence supplied by this meeting will avail to dissipate the pernicious errors which are current in some important circles, and which led one of the highest order of the peerage to say in parliament, that the efforts to obtain the abrogation of the corn-laws proceeded only from a few rich manufacturers, who wished to avoid giving just wages to their workmen. May the God of mercy grant, my honoured brethren, that your conversation, your resolutions, your holy example in the walks of daily life, your influence, and your prayers, may be efficacious for the averting of evil, and the acquisition of blessing, above all that we ask or think. (The reverend gentlemen resumed his seat amidst loud cheers.)

The Rev. J. W. Massie said he had expected that the duty which he now rose to perform would have devolved upon another brother of the ministry in Manchester. He had consented to present himself on this occasion, with considerable reluctance, yet not with so much reluctance as to cause any interruption in the proceedings which had been arranged. It was designed by those who had laboured, and blessed be God with success, to convene the ministers of religion on this occasion, to present to them, when so convened, the reasons of the Manchester ministers who had taken the lead on this subject. It was felt that there was now a crisis in regard to the restrictions on the food of the community, both as those restrictions operated to the destruction of our foreign commerce, and to the injury of our home manufacture. They felt that there was something, that became those who went in and out, not alone of the dwellings of the rich, but many times of the abodes of the poor, to sympathise with them in their poverty, and ask relief for them when they were oppressed; that it was not "Be ye warmed and clothed," and not seek for the means of doing it; but that anything which they could do, it was not only their duty to do, but that now was the time to do it. They said now, because, from circumstances to which he need not now refer, but which they would understand, the question of free trade had been made a subject of national consideration; and because, through certain influences, there had not been that response from the country on the question which might have been anticipated, and which the benefactors of their race had earnestly desired. It was felt, but some had anticipated it for months and years, that it was necessary, before the settlement of the great questions involved in free trade in the article of food could be effected—it was necessary that the sympathy of the religious world should be brought into operation with the mere political economist, or with those who were regarded as selfish in the question. They looked to the effect of such an amalgamation on the question of negro slavery. They regarded the proceedings of these men on that occasion as compatible with their profession as ministers of religion; and, though now and then some of them were evil spoken of through it, and they were asked what authority they had to interfere, their exertions had been blessed by millions of their brethren, and would be by generations yet unborn. Feeling it was so in reference to that question, it might be so with reference to this. They felt that if the same energies were devoted to this cause, the same result would follow, if they only loved justice, if they only loved mercy, and only desired to walk humbly with their God. And it was on this ground, and this ground alone, that they had been convened. They had invited ministers of religion under every christian name. They excluded none bearing that name. They had openly and distinctly invited all; and, when they could not reach them by their circulars, they had sought to gain them by public advertisement. They rejoiced to be able to testify, that not fewer than 650 ministers had responded with a generous warmth and a ready utterance to their invitation, to say they would come; and, he believed, come they had. They had also to declare, that they had received far more than an equal number of letters, approving of their object, from gentlemen who could not come. And thus they had, in 1,500 localities, those who would use their influence for their starving countrymen; and they felt that if this conference were at that moment scattered to the winds, they would create an influence which would reach certain quarters they should like to see moved. There were ministers of religion present who had come, some 200, some 300, some near 500 miles distance, at their own expense, some on foot, that they might be here. Some ministers were present whose incomes did not exceed 50*l.* per annum, and whose congregations did not contain among them three persons whose incomes were more than 8*s.* a week. He should not do more than state, at this moment, what they had anticipated. They anticipated that the conference would confine itself to the one single question, the restriction of commerce in food. On that ground, and that ground alone, had this conference been invited.

The Rev. R. Fletcher intimated that, if any answers had been prepared to the queries forwarded to the different ministers invited to the conference, the committee would feel obliged by receiving them as soon as possible, that they might be at once arranged and prepared for publication. The meetings of the conference would commence on the succeeding days, at nine o'clock, A.M., and break up at one o'clock. The discussion would recommence at four o'clock in the afternoon, and continue during the evening. With respect to the devotional exercises, it was better that they should be matter of private arrangement rather than an act of the whole body.

The suggestion as to the devotional engagements gave rise to some discussion.

The Rev. Dr. Vaughan of Kensington, the Rev. Dr. Cox of Hackney, the Rev. Mr. East of Birmingham, the Rev. Dr. Ritchie of Edinburgh, and the Rev. Dr. Halley, having delivered their sentiments on the subject, it was thought that to act in accordance with the suggestion of the secretary would give to their proceedings a more perfectly anti-sectarian character.

The morning sitting was then concluded.

The afternoon sitting commenced at four o'clock. The Town-hall was crowded to excess. The excitement in the town was evidently very great, and the most strenuous efforts were made by the inhabitants to gain admission into the already over-crowded hall.

The Chairman having resumed his place,

The Rev. Mr. Spencer came forward, and said that he did not intend at that time to take part in the discussion. He merely wished to introduce a gentleman to their notice. They heard that trade was dead, and they came to hold a coroner's inquest on it [a laugh]. He trusted, then, that any evidence that would be produced would be listened to with fairness and candour. The gentleman whom he meant to introduce was Mr. Cobden [cheers], who would address them on this subject, and who would, if necessary, bring forward a gentleman from America to confirm his statements. He, of course, made this suggestion, presuming that it would meet with the concurrence of the meeting, because, though they were but 650, they were just as tenacious of their privileges as the 658 gentlemen assembled in St. Stephens. He should say no more, but at once introduce Mr. Cobden to the meeting.

Mr. Alderman Cobden, M.P., presented himself amidst general applause, and proceeded to address the meeting with his accustomed ability, detailing a variety of important facts bearing upon the question under consideration. He said the question they were met to discuss was of paramount importance to the higher moral and religious feelings of the country. They wanted the mighty influence of the great body by which he was surrounded. They wanted a mighty impulse to the movement for the abolition of the corn-laws, which they alone could give. If they (the conference) once declared that the corn laws were opposed to the laws of God, anti-scriptural, and anti-christian, it would not be long before they were repealed. The hon. member sat down amidst reiterated cheering.

Several members from the manufacturing districts then detailed statements of the most appalling distress which had come under their personal observation.

Second Day, *Wednesday, August* 18.

This morning the Conference was, if possible, more numerously attended than on the preceding day, and the space allotted to the public was thronged by persons who seemed to take a deep interest in the proceedings. The chair was taken by the Rev. Mr. Chaplin, who after a few remarks introduced

Mr. Curtis, from America, who spoke as follows:—I consider it a privilege, as one who loves in his humble way to do what he can for the welfare of mankind, to take a part in the noble work of this convention. I also feel it a privilege to address you as an American—as one who comes from a country scarcely less interested in the repeal of the corn-laws than Great Britain herself. I do not, however, propose at present to dwell upon the interest which the United States, especially the grain-growing portions of that country, have in this question, but to confine myself to the statement, in a plain manner, of a few facts, tending to show how England may find relief from her present necessities by opening a free corn trade with America. None will deny that the trade of England with the United States is of great importance. That country is, even now, England's best customer, restricted and hampered as the trade between the two countries is by the corn-laws of Great Britain. Our yearly agricultural productions are 222,000,000*l.* value, and yet Great Britain confines herself chiefly to a trade in cotton—the whole value of which produced by the States is only about 21,000,000*l.* The value of this trade in future, and the power of the new world to supply Great Britain with bread, can only be appreciated by a reference to the extent and productive capabilities of that country, and its rapidly advancing population. The United States comprise one-twentieth part of the civilised globe—extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, in one direction; from frigid to torrid zone, in the other; it is capable of producing almost every article which the luxury or the wants of man can crave, or which are necessary for him to possess, in order that he may advance in the career of civilisation, wealth, and commercial prosperity. Its sea coast extends 3,000 miles. We have completed 3,500 miles of railroad, and 4,000 miles of canal, which open all parts of the country to the commerce of the world. If all this is true, the trade and capacity of that country is of consequence to England in the present crisis of her affairs. M'Culloch and M'Queen, and even some of the pamphlet writers of the anti-corn-law league, have doubted whether England could find abroad a supply of food on which she could depend for the wants of her increasing population. Four millions of quarters are about as much as they have calculated could be gathered from the surplus of the European continent; while your population will require, at its present rate of increase, twelve million quarters, in addition to the present amount. I wish to show that there is no cause for any such fear—that from this great western granary Great Britain, if she will, may eat to the full, grow and increase as she may, for one century at least; and that is long enough ahead for one generation of men to calculate [cheers]. In the first place we have spent, in the last ten years, 100,000,000 dollars to lay this region open to you. And, as the providence which orders all things would have it, just in the hour of your need, the power of steam has laid this country by the side of your own. It is as if from the beginning of time this garden of the world had been reserved until now for the purpose of feeding Englishmen. The portion of our country best adapted to the culture of wheat, and to which I wish to call your particular attention, is comprised in the six north western states and territories, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa. They contain more than 178,000,000 acres of land, chiefly arable. England contains 32,000,000 acres. That portion of their states, which may be called good wheat land, at three quarters per acre, would produce in a year 200,000,000 quarters [hear, hear]. They are at present just commencing to pour the immense amount of bread and meat they are capable of producing into the markets of the world. Ohio, alone, last year had eight million bushels of wheat to export. Michigan, which never exported until 1839, has now a surplus of 250,000 bushels of wheat, and 300,000 barrels of pork. The population of these states is now 3,000,000. It has increased during the last ten years at the rate of 202 per cent. From personal acquaintance with the wheat region and the wheat culture, I fix the price at which wheat can be expected to be produced to any given amount at Chi-

cago, at the south end of Lake Michigan, in the heart of the wheat region, at 75c per bushel, or per quarter ..... 27*s.*
Freight, charges, and profits to New York, in the shape of flour..... 10
Ditto ..... ditto ..... Liverpool 10

Delivered in Liverpool ..... 47s. per qr.

The American farmer will not produce wheat for anybody at a much less price than this. Between him and the English grain grower there will always be, in the shape of cost of transit, a fixed duty of at least 20*s.* per qr. But here arises an important question. What will the American take his pay in? Take his pay in! Why the very things he wants, and you want to let him have. Your dry goods, your crockery, your hardware, which he has been anxious to get and could not, for you are not suffered to take his wheat, and flour, and pork, &c., in exchange. Lowering your prices is not what is wanted. Offer him your best calicoes at sixpence a yard, he would not buy of you. His reply would be, silver and gold have I none, take these stacks of wheat and pork, then I will trade with you. We do not want you to lower your prices, and lower your wages, they are low enough already. But take enough for your starving workmen to eat, and my life for it some of those big warehouses in Manchester will be cleared out with a speed which will perfectly astonish the natives [cheers]. And if a good customer means one who will buy largely, trust me for this. Take the wheat of those western Yankees, and I will warrant them to buy as fast as you can sell. And if remitless untrammelled industry, upon a virgin soil, can have its power of production measured, then you can measure the ability of America to pay, under a system of free labour and free trade. There is one thing to which I do not like to refer, and yet I must touch upon. Can England consent to do without America as a customer [no, no]? The restrictive policy of Great Britain—the refusal to admit American grain—wakes up an increasing hardness of feeling toward England; and is this to be wondered at, when we consider my own country as furnishing a curious counterpart to the same arguments here? The advocate for the corn-laws says that if Britons eat American grain, then Britain becomes dependent on America. The American restrictionist says, "if we receive British goods, we become dependent on Britain." About as dependent as man and wife, who find each other's society and services so indispensable, that they cannot bear to be without each other [cheers]. I am surprised to find another most open and obvious absurdity gaining some currency in England among men pretending to common sense—that a low price of food will cause a low wage for labour. How, then, will they account for the fact that in America artisans receive greater wages than in England; and that in Illinois, where wheat is three shillings per bushel, unskilled labourers command four and sixpence per day, and employment so plentiful that they are hard to be got at that [cheers]? And they are the descendants of Englishmen. There is one other point to which I wish to advert, and I am sure it cannot be out of place in such a meeting as this—I mean the effect which a repeal of the corn-laws would have on American slavery [loud cheers]. It must certainly gladden and invigorate the heart of every lover of his kind, that while he is engaged in a most blessed work at home, its accomplishment will redound to the cause of oppressed and enslaved humanity in other lands. I cannot go into the state of things in America at large, as I would like to do, in order to show this; but I will endeavour to give the idea. With a strange inconsistency, Great Britain in effect refuses to trade with any portion of our country except that which is slaveholding. Cotton and tobacco, you are aware are the staple productions of the American slaveholder. Now, in 1839, for instance, a year, too, in which Britain took more than usual from the free states, you imported of them produce less than 500,000*l.* value, although their agricultural produce is 130,000,000 dollars greater than that of the slave states. While of the slaveholders' produce you took more than 12,000,000*l.* value [hear, hear]. Thus the northern freeman has driven to the slave market his produce, because he can sell it nowhere else, and the slave is driven to the production of cotton and tobacco for your market. You see, at a glance, how the free states are placed under commercial vassalage to the slave states. But let England open a free trade in corn with the free north, and the power of the slaveholder, political and financial, in that country, is past for ever. After stating his conviction from the feelings of his countrymen, that unless the corn-laws of England were repealed, restrictive duties would ultimately be established towards her by America, which would entirely shut her out from their trade, Mr. Curtis concluded by thanking the Conference for the attention with which they had listened to him, and retired amidst loud cheers.

The Rev. Dr. VAUGHAN, on presenting himself, was received with cheers. He said, so far as I can look to the subject which has been presented to us, it appears to me that those who feel most alarmed at the prospect of such a change as we hope to see realised, attach the last importance to the argument that we should be as independent as possible of all other countries for our corn. A greater instance of folly was never exhibited in the history of the human mind than this political dogma which has been laid down for our submissive adoption. There never was a commercial power so overwhelming as that of the British empire; there never was a power which had such a command of the deep, and such wealth at its disposal, by means of which it can employ a navy, and extend its empire over every quarter of the world. And yet it is a fact, that the first commercial power in the universe regards the danger of starving for want of corn as the great and paramount danger of a commercial people [cheers]. If you look to the shores of Phœnicia, you will find that the great cities of Tyre and Sidon, whose productions rivalled those of Birmingham and Manchester, and which carried civilisation and refinement to every quarter of the globe to which their traffic extended—you will find, I say, that these great cities, "whose merchants were princes," never dreamed of raising their own corn at all. The deep lay before them. A gallant navy was at their service, though a navy of small boats compared to ours; and, so long as they could direct that navy and rule that deep, the idea of growing their own corn never entered their minds. Well, go to other countries—look to Greece. The most commercial of her cities—Corinth, was built on an isthmus of land measuring eight square miles. Two of these were occupied by the site of the town itself, and the remainder formed a plain that the inhabitants might lounge on: and yet she maintained a perpetual commerce with all parts of the world, and became the most opulent city in Europe. Again, observe Venice, "the ocean-robed," as she has been styled: she had not a single foot of land but what she recovered from the depths of the sea. Yet Venice never dreamed of awaking some morning and finding herself in a state of starvation for the want of bread [hear and cheers]. Come nearer home, and look at the great commercial states of Europe, and you will find they pursued the same policy. That noble people, the Dutch, when they wrested their liberty from the strong grasp of tyranny, though they carried their products over the whole habitable globe, and aspired successfully to the sovereignty of the sea, did not grow corn enough for the support of their own towns. It was quite clear that Spain and Austria would have restrained them from procuring food elsewhere if they could, but France and the Northern powers were just as much interested in their freedom from such a restriction, and the consequence was, that the Dutch never entertained any doubts on the subject. These are important facts, which cannot be made too familiar through a meeting of this kind. And really if I could believe that our commercial men were so feeble hearted as to incline for a moment to such a view of the question as that to which I have adverted, I should be disposed to ask how spirits so unworthy of eminence had attained to commercial power [hear, hear]? But such men are too clear-sighted to be imposed on by such a fallacy. It is class influence which suggests such a view of things, and fosters such a delusion. But it is said we must anticipate the case of all Europe being opposed to us. Providence has so beautifully marked out that lovely section of the globe, as to make such an occurrence the last thing to reckon upon in the range of possibility. The various attempts which have been made to combine these states, and to bring the incubus of one power over all the others, have proved the fatuity of such a scheme. Charlemagne's fabric of power crumbled into ruin the moment his genius withdrew from the care of it. The mighty structure of Charles the Fifth's ambition seemed to rise up in a night, but it began to waste away ere he departed from the scene of his splendour. When Louis IV. entered on that path, which was attended at every step with so much cost, and which was entered on with a view to so much glory, his gorgeous conquests faded from his eyes like a dream. And when within our own memory the power of France became again stimulated to a convulsive strength, the monstrous thing broke down from the mere effect of reaction [cheers]. British fears, then, should be directed not without, but within; and the great danger we have to apprehend is the negation of right between subject and subject. I may perhaps be allowed to remark, that the proposal which has caused so much alarm was a fixed duty of 8*s.*, which, with the cost of transfer, would give a bounty of 20*s.* to our own as opposed to foreign corn; and yet the landholders have raised a cry of alarm, as if their existence was perilled by propounding such a scheme. I must say, it gives me no little pain and alarm to witness such a state of mind as that we have to deal with; but deal with it we must [cheers]. You who have read history know that though, as Mr. Hallam says, it may sound more eloquently to say that our liberties were purchased with the blood of our ancestors than with their money, there is more truth in the latter part of the assertion. The power of the House of Commons has grown up, step by step, with the commercial power of our people. The demands for money made by the crown gave the representatives of the people, when they had grown comparatively rich through manufacturing industry, the means of buying off one oppression and the other, and strengthening the rights of the people. This has been the history of our liberty, and were we to sink from our commercial prosperity we should be obliged to go back to the simple relations of landlord and vassal. This must never be, Sir [cheers]. I see nothing yet in the political horizon to occasion fear. There is enough of truly noble blood still flowing through the veins of our nobility to inspire us with confidence as to the success of our cause. When we see such men as Fitzwilliam [loud cheers], and other whig noblemen, the largest landholders in the kingdom, quitting, as it were, their position, and taking their place with us, we must honour and love them [cheers]. It is a spectacle which every lover of his kind must rejoice to look on, to see such men consecrate their rank with all its wealth and refinement to something nobler than itself—the nobleness of our common humanity [loud cheers]. So long, then, as we have such a sanction of our proceedings, we should never hesitate, while we find combinations against what we believe to be just, and humane, and essential to the salvation of our country, to use every exertion to promote what is right and constitutional and what must secure the happiness of the people [loud cheers]. The rev. gentleman concluded by moving the following resolution:—

"That this Conference, drawn together from various parts of the United Kingdom, by a general conviction of the existence of long continued and still increasing distress affecting the community at large, and bearing with peculiar severity on the industrious classes, finds this conviction deeply confirmed by various statements and documentary evidence now laid before them, which clearly prove that vast numbers are incapable of obtaining by their labour a sufficiency of the common necessaries of life for the support of themselves and their families."

The Rev. Mr. ROBERTSON, of Edinburgh, seconded the resolution and the Rev. Mr. RAGLAND, of Hindley, supported it; stating some facts which exhibited a melancholy picture of the distressed state of the population of Wigan; no less than 3000 persons being out of employment. The resolution was then unanimously adopted.

The Rev. Mr. PARSONS, of Stroud, detailed a variety of deeply interesting facts connected with the condition of the poor in the vale of Stroud. He represented them, as a class, to be in the depth of distress and suffering and yet too proud to accept of pensions from the state, or the provisions which pauper-rates or the hand of charity may hold out to them. Their highest ambition being to be able to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. He concluded by moving the second resolution:—

"That in the judgment of this Conference, the prevailing distress painfully tends to arrest the progress of education—to prevent the exercise of domestic and social affections—to induce reckless and immoral habits—to prevent attendance on religious worship, and to harden the heart against religious impressions."

The Rev. C. BERRY, of Leicester, in seconding the resolution, said that, by the last census, Leicester had a population of 50,000. Of those about one-tenth were employed in manufactures; and never in his life had he seen a period at which they were in a state of more harrowing destitution and distress. Though it had not suffered so much perhaps as Nottingham or Derby, great numbers were out of employment altogether, while many others were only half-employed

on but slender wages. He was authorised to state that the unskilled workman there did not get more than 6s. or 7s. a week, while others did not exceed 11s. or 12s., from which had to be deducted a shilling for rent of loom, and this after working 14 hours a-day [hear, hear]. The last census reported that 1100 houses were unoccupied, which ought to contain one-fifth of the population. Whether they had emigrated or not he did not know; some of them he believed had, others were huddled together, several families in a house, because unable to pay rents. The rev. gentleman stated his conviction that much of this misery, if not all, was occasioned by the corn-laws, and that their repeal would afford great relief; but it must come soon. The trade of Leicester was not only falling off, it was going—and unless something was done, and done promptly, it would have left our shores for ever! [cheers]. The motion having been put was carried unanimously. The meeting then adjourned, it being one o'clock, till the evening.

Mr. CHAPLIN again took the chair about a quarter after four, and business was resumed.

The Rev. Mr. THOMPSON, of Swansea (in the absence of Mr. Spencer, of Bath), was called on to move the third resolution:—

"That, influenced at once by feelings of sympathy for the suffering poor, with whom their official duties bring them into daily contact, and by a deep interest in the success of that religion whereof they are ministers, this Conference feels itself only acting from a strong sense of duty in examining into the causes of the existing distress, and, after the example of the Saviour himself, in employing its utmost influence to alleviate or remove it."

The Rev. T. SPENCER seconded the resolution in a very able and eloquent speech, for which we regret we are unable to find room; and, after a few words from the Rev. S. J. PHILLIPS, of Woolton, the resolution was put, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. Dr. PAYNE, of Exeter, moved the fourth resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. A. HARVEY, of Glasgow, and carried unanimously. It was as follows:—

"That in the face of the facts which have come under their notice in their own respective neighbourhoods, no less than by statements laid before them, the ministers composing this Conference cannot avoid the painful conviction that much of the widespread distress of the present time is attributable to provision laws, inasmuch as they limit the supply, and thereby, enhancing the cost of the common necessaries of life, fetter industry, repress enterprise, divert the legitimate employment of capital, and spread discontent and heart-burning throughout the land."

The fifth resolution was moved by the Rev. Dr. RITCHIE, of Edinburgh, and seconded by the Rev. J. CLAPP, of Appledore, Devon, and carried unanimously:—

"That, believing the law of Almighty God, as revealed in his word, ought to be in all cases the rule of human action, that any allowed deviation from it, either in individual conduct or in the affairs of nations, must incur the divine displeasure—and convinced that a monopoly in bread is anti-christian in its principle, this Conference, while it seeks the abolition of the provision laws on other high and important grounds, more especially deprecates their continuance as a great national offence against that Being by whom kings reign and princes decree justice."

The Rev. J. E. GILES, of Leeds, moved the sixth resolution:—

"That the laws which restrict the importation of the prime necessaries of life are, in the judgment of this Conference, essentially and manifestly unjust, and operate with peculiar hardship on the operative classes, by at once limiting the market for the disposal of the fruits of their labour, and raising the price of food when they are least able to procure it."

The Rev. Mr. ARCHER, from Antrim, Ireland, seconded the resolution, which was supported by the Rev. T. SWAN, of Birmingham, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. T. ADKINS moved the seventh resolution:—

"That in the undeniable fact of the reciprocal dependence of the several branches of the human family, this Conference, recognising the admirable provision of the all-wise beneficent Creator for securing their individual happiness, maintaining their peaceful intercourse, and enhancing their collective welfare, in consequence feels itself solemnly bound to declare its uncompromising hostility to those legislative enactments which prevent the ever-increasing population of this country from exchanging the products of their manufacturing industry and skill, which they are especially enabled to proffer, for the food which they so much need, and which other countries are so well able and most anxious to give in return for them."

It was seconded by the Rev. J. EDWARDS, of Nottingham, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. R. W. HAMILTON, of Leeds, moved the eighth resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. J. W. Massie, and agreed to unanimously:—

"That no effectual relief can be supplied either by parochial assessments or the benefactions of private or associated charity; that the necessary remedy for the existing distress is full employment and adequate remuneration; and that it is vain to hope to elevate the labouring classes from their present depression so long as the existing system of provision laws continues to interpose between the bounty of God and the necessities of his creatures."

The ninth resolution was moved by the Rev. Mr. Freeman, of Walthamstow, and seconded by the Rev. Mr. Carlile, of London, and passed unanimously:—

"That this Conference, deeply interested in the maintenance of the various benevolent and religious institutions which exist in our country, and which depend for their support on the general prosperity of the community, is penetrated with the conviction that the resources of many of those institutions have been already materially affected by the prevailing distress, and fears that unless that distress be speedily and effectually alleviated, christians, instead of enlarging, must contract their sphere of benevolence."

Thanks were then voted to the Chairman, and the Conference broke up at a late hour.

THIRD DAY, *Thursday, August* 19.

The Rev. Dr. Cox of Hackney took the chair; the room was crowded.

A deputation from the workmen of Messrs. Sharp and Roberts was then introduced, and one of them read the following address:—

"TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS OF RELIGION ASSEMBLED TO DISCUSS THE TAXES ON FOOD.

"We, the undersigned workmen in the employ of Messrs. Sharp, Roberts, and Co., engineers and machine-makers, are desirous of respectfully addressing to the conference our full concurrence in those views of the injustice of all laws which restrict the supply of food, and which have led to their meeting; and our admiration of the courage and devotion to sound principles which have brought so many hundreds of ministers from their usual retirement to meet in conference upon this vitally important and all-interesting subject.

"We have long been deeply convinced that the food monopoly is unjust, unchristian, and oppressive. Our situation as workmen in a very large manufacturing establishment has given us many opportunities of witnessing its destructive influence on trade, although, owing to the peculiar position and extensive connection of our respected employers, we have not hitherto (comparatively) suffered from its direful effects to the extent that others have; yet our familiarity with the homes and circumstances of the working population in this town enables us to affirm that the amount of misery and want which the corn laws have produced among us is heart-rending and appalling.

"We rejoice in all efforts to put an end to a system which we hold to be so wicked and demoralizing, and hail with peculiar satisfaction the present combined exertions of men whose frequent intercourse with the poor leads them to feel for their distress, and whose just influence in society adds weight to their sentiments.

"We believe that ministers of religion cannot devote their talents and valuable time to more blessed or more important objects than in advocating the rights and exposing the wrongs of their suffering fellow-men. We welcome your assembly with heartfelt pleasure, we sympathise with you in feeling, and we trust that your efforts will be sustained in hopeful perseverance that more and more of your profession will soon feel constrained to join with you, and that a glorious success will ere long be your gratifying reward.

"The prayers of many who are ready to perish are with you, and their blessings are upon your endeavours to aid in procuring for them that share of the means of subsistence which was designed, and is provided by the Creator of all things.

"We are with sincere respect, &c. &c.

(Signed) "BENJAMIN FOTHERGILL, Chairman.
"JOHN ALLEY } Secretaries."
"R. TENNANT }

[Signed by 614 workmen.]

The person who read the address then stated that Messrs. Sharp and Roberts were extensively engaged in manufacturing locomotive engines for foreign parts, a circumstance which accounted for their having so many men employed, whilst other manufacturers employed comparatively few.

The Rev. Mr. CARLILE, of London, moved, "That the gratifying address just read be gratefully received by this conference, and that it be inserted in the minutes of their proceedings."

The Rev. Dr. CHENIE seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

A deputation from the hand-loom weavers was next introduced, and one of them read the following address:—

"TO THE REVEREND GENTLEMEN ASSEMBLED IN THE TOWN-HALL OF MANCHESTER, THIS 18TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1841.

"Rev. Sirs—It is with feelings of regret that we are compelled to call upon you, gentlemen, with a view to obtain your sympathy, and prevent our suffering and starving families from a premature grave.

"Rev. Sirs—For years past we have been applying to parliament for redress for our grievances, and to make such alterations in the corn and provision laws, as in our humble opinion would not only improve our condition, but would benefit the country at large; for the poor and wretched in our present deplorable situation, we should be sorry to ask for any favour from the government of our common country that was likely to be injurious to any portion of her Majesty's subjects. But, after all, and upon a principle of common justice, we do think we should receive in return for our labour, *food, shelter*, and *clothing*.

"Rev. Sirs—Considering you, gentlemen, as the faithful servants of your Divine Master, and having heard of the god-like purpose for which you are assembled, we trust you will pardon us for thus calling upon you, in the name of God and justice, to rouse public sympathy in our favour, and prevent us from being reduced to the necessity of concluding that we have no hope to lean upon but the *grave*, that bed in which the greatest in our land will, after all, be but equal to ourselves in the sight of a just God, in whose presence there is a fulness of joy.

"Rev. Sirs—In 1831 we sent our petitions to parliament, praying for a repeal of the tax on bread. Henry Hunt, the honest friend of his country, presented the said petitions for us; in his place in parliament he told the members then present the ruin that would overtake us as a nation if a different line of policy was not pursued in connection with laws that affected our commerce. But alas, gentlemen, up to this hour the same wicked and unchristian laws are in existence, and unfortunately for us, we feel their bitter effects when we hear our children crying for bread and have none to give them."

"The following is a copy of the prayer of the above-mentioned petitions presented from us in 1831:—

"'Your petitioners pray your hon. House not to counteract the will of Omnipotence, and goad a generous people to madness, by the continuance of this system of starvation, but, as christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land, to obey its heavenly precepts, to do unto others as you would they should do unto you—to quash every enactment that is contrary to its mild, equitable, and conciliating spirit; and, in fine, to reinstate your hon. House in the favour of the British nation, by repealing at once the obnoxious and infamous corn law.'

"In conclusion, reverend sirs, we hope you will see, from the spirit of the prayer of our petition just quoted, that we were not impelled by improper motives in our plain and humble way of making our case known; and, at the same time, we hope that this our appeal to you, gentlemen, will not be made in vain, trusting that with your assistance, and that of your divine master, the great God of heaven, who gave us this earth for our inheritance, that we will yet be enabled to obtain the repeal of all laws that prevent the plentiful supply of food to the producers of the nation's wealth, viz., the working classes; and, most earnestly praying that your meritorious labours may be crowned with success, we subscribe ourselves, on behalf of the hand-loom weavers of Manchester, most respectfully yours, &c. &c., the deputation.

"EDWARD CURRAN, 6, Heyrod street, Great Ancoats street.
"JOHN JOS. FINNIGAN, Meadow street, St. George's road.
"RICHARD MOORE."

The Rev. W. M'KERROW moved that the address now read be cordially received by the conference; and that it be recorded on the minutes of its proceedings; and the Rev. Mr. Peters, of Rochdale, having seconded the motion, it was carried by acclamation.

The deputation were then examined as follows by the chairman and other members of the Conference:—

State the number of your body, and how many are employed.—Our number is 7,000, and one-third are out of employment and totally destitute.

How do they keep themselves alive?—That can be better imagined than described.

What is the state of health of the body generally?—Very bad indeed.

What diseases prevail?—Fever.

Do those out of employment receive any relief from the poor-rates?—Some receive trifling relief.

Give some account of their condition—Thousands are living in cellars and garrets, with scarcely a blanket to cover them, and without a vessel to boil their food in. Their food is potatoes, when they can get them, and gruel. I know families in this town who did not taste food yesterday, and know not where to get it to-day. I met some persons in this condition as I was coming here, and they begged me to impress on you the necessity of affording them some temporary relief to save them from the grave.

Is it the general opinion of the hand-loom weavers that the corn-laws are the cause of their distress, by stopping their trade?—It is their general opinion that those laws are the greatest evil the country labours under.

Is it your opinion that if those laws were repealed, and the condition of the weavers were improved, they would be quiet and peaceable?—No doubt of it. There is sufficient evidence that they are a most peaceable body of men. Amidst all their privations and sufferings the handloom weavers never disturb the public peace.

Do the weavers attend places of worship generally?—There are hundreds and thousands anxious to do so; but they are prevented, because they have neither coats to their backs nor shoes to their feet.

How long has their present state of destitution continued?—Their condition has been gradually getting worse since 1815, and we think that the injurious corn-laws have been a great means of causing our present wretched state.

What was the condition of your class in those years when bread was cheap, and this country was in possession of a great amount of grain, as in 1835?—In 1835, there was certainly a dawn of hope lit upon us; and we expected from the sudden change that then took place, that our condition was likely to be improved; and why? because our food got cheaper, and our wages increased [hear, hear]. Every article of con-

sumption was cheaper in that year than I have known it for years past; and I myself received better wages, and so did my fellow workmen in that year, than I had received for the last fifteen years [applause].

How many of the employed are fully occupied?—In reply to the question, how many of the hand-loom weavers in employment are fully occupied, I cannot state that there are more than one-third at the outside who are in that condition; and one-third partially employed, as we term it.

What are the weekly earnings of the average of those who are fully employed, and of those who are partially employed?—In reply to the question respecting the weekly earnings of the hand-loom weavers, I am quite certain that I can be borne out by the most respectable manufacturers in Manchester, when I state that their wages will not average more than one shilling a-day, when they are in full employment [hear, hear].

How many hours a day must they labour to earn that?—Fourteen hours a-day [hear, hear, and cries of "shame!"].

What is the average of wages procured by each family?—To that question I cannot distinctly answer; and why? because, of late years, many of the families have been endeavouring to send their children to factories and other places; and, in consequence of the diminution of factory labour which is at present taking place, their wages are materially deteriorated. And those families which are depending wholly on hand-loom weaving, are receiving no more, taking three or four looms on the average, than 12s. a-week; and that will be the outside of the earnings of five or six people [hear, hear].

Is it your opinion that the introduction of machinery, or the operation of the corn-laws has done most hurt?—The introduction of machinery, as it is at present regulated, has been without doubt injurious; but, in our opinion, if the corn-laws had been repealed, it never would have affected us in the manner it has [loud cheers].

What is the difference between the rate of wages at this time and five years ago—say in 1835 or 1836?—At least from 20 to 30 per cent. of a reduction.

From 20 to 30?—Yes. There are a variety of works in one branch of hand-loom weaving which I believe the machines can never reach; consequently, some of those works have not undergone that reduction which others have. Therefore, that accounts for the difference of from 20 to 30 per cent. Some works have been reduced 20 per cent., whilst others have undergone a reduction of 30 per cent.

What influence has the circumstances which have been stated on the education of your children?—In reply to that question I can only state, in the first place, that it is out of our power to educate them ourselves; and, in the next place, I would say that it is out of our power to clothe them decently, and send them to such places where they would get education [hear]. Consequently they derive no education on that account.

Is the condition of the fancy-work weavers much better than your own?—In reply to that question, I can only state that such is the expense connected with getting fancy looms, and other expenses coming on the weavers, that their condition is now just as bad as that of the plain weavers. The only difference is, the fancy weaver is of more value to his master; and in some seasons he makes a better appearance, and may recover himself a little, but in winter he gets very little to do [hear, hear].

Can you tell the difference between the wages now, and the wages at the time when corn-laws were introduced?—I think there is a friend of mine here who can answer that question better.

Another of the deputation then came forward, and was examined, as follows:—

Can you tell the difference between the rate of wages now and in 1815?—Will you allow me to go regularly through with it [hear, hear]. It is impossible for me to mention all the different fabric of works, but I will take one. In the year 1775, the hundred reed was paid 1s. 8d. In the year 1800, it was 1s. 4d,; in the year 1812, it was 10d.; and in the year 1815, it was 9d.

What was it in the year 1816?—It was fourpence halfpenny [hear, hear]. The corn-laws were put on then [applause].

Very well, what is it now?—Twopence farthing, or less [hear, hear, and cries of "shame"]! Now, I was out of employ for three months this summer; and I have got a warp of the same sort as I was speaking of, fifty yards for ten shillings [hear, hear]. It will take a fortnight to do it. I cannot do it under; there is threpence to go out of every shilling, which leaves me 3s. 9d. a week [hear, hear]. I have not got on an average for these four years 3s. 6d. a week, one week with another. But still I live; and there are people far worse situated than I am [hear, hear]. Suppose I had a wife and three or four children, how were they to be kept out of that [hear, hear]. Hundreds there are who are so situated. How they live I cannot tell. They do not live [hear, hear], they only exist on water gruel and dry potatoes. It is starvation and nothing else [loud applause].

Does it take so much time to weave a piece now as it did at the period referred to? Does it take as much time to weave a piece now as it did in the year 1815?—I find the twist to be worse now than in the year 1815. It was very good in 1815, it is now very bad, consequently it is more difficult to weave a piece now than it was then [hear, hear]. I have been a weaver fifty-three years. I began weaving cotton when it was in its infancy, and I can trace the price from that time until now. But I find that the price of weaving and the price of provisions have nothing whatever to do with each other [applause]. I found that out in the year 1800; for then, when flour was sixpence a pound, wages dropped lower [hear].

The deputation then withdrew amidst the loud plaudits of the audience.

An arrangement was made at this stage of the proceedings, and explained by the chairman, that in consequence of the great number of speakers who had yet to address the meeting, each speaker should be limited to five minutes.

The Revs. Dr. Redford of Worcester, Blair of Dumfermline, M'Dougall of Kilmarnock, Wilson of Shepton Mallett, Young of Andover, Morgan of Birmingham, Good of Gosport, Barfit of Salisbury, Ferguson of Bicester, Somerville of Dumfermline, Giles of Liverpool, Goulty of Brighton, Dr. Perry of Reading, Rhodes of Sheffield, Atley of Frome, Davies of Ashburton, Slade of Preston, Mann of Trowbridge, Ronalds of Saltcoates, Ayrshire, Smith of Rotherham, Miall of Bradford, who read over the speech of the Rev. Walter Scott, and Peters of Rochdale, afterwards addressed the meeting previous to the adjournment for dinner, but most of their statements being stopped unfinished by the call of "time," we feel that the publication of their short addresses would hardly be justice to them.

The following gentlemen, it was stated, had handed in their names and wished to address the meeting, but would be unable owing to press of time:—The Revs. Muir of Sheffield, Cook, Orme, Stevens, and Lindsay of Kilmarnock, West of Bethnal green, and Thomson of Maybole.

After a few words from the Rev. Mr. Bevan, one of the secretaries, the meeting adjourned till evening.

The proceedings were resumed at four o'clock.

The Rev. JAMES ACKWORTH, president of Bradford college, moved the adoption of the following address to the Queen:—

"TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY.

"May it please your Majesty—We your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, being Christian ministers of various denominations, and from different parts of the United Kingdom, assembled in Manchester the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th days of August, 1841, to consider the laws restricting the food of the kingdom, beg permission to approach your Majesty with an expression of our sentiments in relation to the momentous subject which has thus brought us together.

"In craving this indulgence we beseech your Majesty to believe that we are influenced by an affectionate veneration for the person, and an ardent attachment to the throne of your Majesty, as well as by a deep heartfelt interest in the subject itself.

"Our unceasing prayer to the Supreme Ruler is, that he will continue to smile on your Majesty, your august Consort, and your illustrious offspring, preserving your Majesty in the uninterrupted enjoyment of health, surrounding you with all the endearments of domestic life, and after rendering you, through a long course of years, a blessing to your people, giving you in the realms of Eternal Glory a crown that fadeth not away.

"Brought by our professional avocations into daily intercourse with the more numerous classes of our fellow-subjects, it is, as it has for some time past been, our painful lot to witness scenes of wide spread, heart-rending, and ever deepening distress, arising mainly—as alas! is too obvious—from a want of adequate employ, and a consequent destitution to a very great extent of the common necessaries of life.

"In endeavouring to ascertain the cause of this most deplorable state of things, we beg to assure your Majesty that after patient and dispassionate investigation, we have been constrained to admit the conviction, that it is to be found primarily and chiefly in those laws which, by unrighteously interfering with the arrangements of our beneficent Creator, produce an artificial scarcity of food, impose shackles on trade and commerce, cramp the efforts of industry, and, even where they seem to benefit, occasion only a delusive advantage.

"Encouraged by the parental solicitude which your Majesty has uniformly manifested for the well-being of your subjects, we humbly, yet most earnestly solicit your Majesty's gracious interposition on this behalf, so far as it can be constitutionally rendered; assured that nothing more becomes the dignity or answers to the office of Princes and Potentates, than an imitation of the Sovereign Ruler, who is good to all, and whose tender mercies are over all his works."

The Rev. Mr. FLETCHER seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

The Rev. Mr. SMITH, tutor of Rotherham academy, then moved:—"That the Chairmen of this Conference, the Rev. Mr. Adkins, the Rev. Mr. Chaplin, the Rev. Dr. Cox, and the Rev. Mr. Spencer, with the secretaries, be requested to present this memorial to her Majesty, the Queen."

The Rev. Dr. VAUGHAN, of Kensington, seconded the motion, which was put, and carried unanimously.

It was moved by the Rev. Mr. MASSIE, and seconded by the Rev. Mr. GWYTHER, that George Thompson, Esq., be requested to address the conference. The motion was carried by acclamation.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., then came forward amidst the most rapturous applause. His strength would not permit him to do more at that moment than read the document he held in his hand for their consideration, and, indeed it was unnecessary, as it contained all that he could say on the subject, Gazing upon the unexampled assembly he saw around him, he gave thanks to God on behalf of the perishing poor [cheers]. Mr. G. Thompson then read as follows:—

To the People of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Fellow Countrymen,—An assembly of Christian ministers, unprecedented in its numbers, and embracing almost every denomination, yet united as one by the object which has brought us together, we proceed, in the discharge of our duty to lay before you the result of our deliberations.

Suffer us to claim for our present very brief address the calm and earnest attention which the importance and solemnity of the subject demand.

We were convened for the purpose of considering the laws restricting the food of the community.

We have endeavonred to approach this subject with minds uninfluenced by party feeling or sectional interests, and to try all questions submitted to us by the unerring standard of scriptural morality.

Our attention has, in the first place, been directed to the principle upon which the corn and provision laws of this country are based. The immediate effect of these laws is to make the food of the people *dear*. It is demonstrable that this can be done only by rendering food *scarce*. From the *artificial* scarcity so created the different classes of consumers escape, in proportion to their wealth, the evil pressing with accumulating severity upon the humbler classes exactly in the degree of their inability to sustain the burden. These laws operate with continually aggravating force, in consequence of the natural and inevitable increase in the numbers of the people.

The most painful evidence of the truth of this principle has been laid before us from all parts of the kingdom, proving the poverty and privations of the working classes, whose general fortitude under their augmenting wretchedness has awakened our sympathy and called for our present interference in their behalf. In addition to the existence of domestic suffering, often in the most distressing forms of misery and disease, proof of an *increased mortality* has been forced upon us, and we have had the appalling fact disclosed that famine is already doing its deadly work among the most destitute portions of the community.

The *moral effects* of the corn and provision laws have occupied our serious consideration.

It has been proved to us that the physical deterioration of multitudes of our countrymen has produced an alarming amount of demoralization. Under this aspect, these laws have appeared to us to require the most anxious attention of all who are concerned for the advancement of the spiritual and eternal interests of their fellow-creatures. As Christian ministers, prizing above all other considerations, the interests of morality and religion, we have been unable to anticipate, without apprehension and dread, the growth and development of those passions which are stimulated and called into action by hunger and destitution.

Fellow countrymen! We have asked ourselves if the calamities we have been called to contemplate, and the more dreadful consequences with which we are threatened, are to be regarded as the just judgment and visitation of the Almighty; and our unanimous answer is NO. We have sought instruction in the Word and through the Works of GOD, and have been taught by both that a bountiful and unfailing provision has been made for the wants of every living creature. We stand forth, therefore, to assert and vindicate the Divine Wisdom and Beneficence: we charge existing misery and impending danger upon the selfish or ignorant inventions of man, which have frustrated the merciful designs of the Ruler of the Universe. The chastisements we are enduring are self inflicted: our national distresses are the results of a departure, by human legislation, from the spirit and mandates of the Divine Law; and our strong conviction is, that our present deliverance and future safety are to be secured only by recognising and observing the unerring and clearly revealed will of a Beneficent Creator. Our duty then, as ministers of religion, is plain. On scriptural grounds we are called upon to denounce all human restrictions upon the supply of food to the people, and to employ all appropriate means to place the fatherly provisions of GOD within the reach of his suffering and famishing children.

In the attainment of this object we affectionately call upon the Christian public, to aid us by an instant, a united, and a vigorous effort. The case is one of extreme urgency. The poor are daily perishing; and, though we would not stay the hand of individual charity, we must declare our solemn conviction, that all assistance will prove

ineffectual to the relief of prevailing wretchedness during the continuance of laws which impiously interfere with, and limit the enjoyment of the *all-sufficient* bounties of Divine Providence.

Our first advice to our brethren and friends throughout the country, is, to investigate the subject now before them. Let every one convinced of the justice and necessity of abolishing those laws do all in his power, in the spirit of meekness and love, to enlighten and convince those who are around him. Under the responsibilities of citizenship, let every opportunity be embraced of bringing the nature and effects of the corn and provision laws under the notice of the legislature. We would also earnestly exhort those who are suffering from the operation of these laws to be peaceful and loyal, and to co-operate in all Christian and constitutional efforts to effect their extinction—relying with patience upon the sympathy of their friends, and the blessing of the MOST HIGH.

Finally, let unceasing supplication ascend, that it may please the GOD and FATHER of us all to give our law-makers the wisdom that is profitable to direct, and to incline their hearts to do justice and love mercy.

This eloquent address, which we understand is from the pen of Mr. Thompson, was listened to with the most entranced attention, and on its conclusion, a most deafening burst of acclamation arose.

The Rev. J. H. HINTON, of London, moved the adoption of the address, which was seconded by the Rev. J. W. MASSIE, and agreed to, and ordered to be printed and circulated throughout the kingdom.

The Rev. Mr. SCALES, of Leeds, then moved the adoption of the following petition to parliament, which was seconded by Mr. M'KERROW and agreed to:—

"TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS, ETC.

"The humble petition of a Conference of ministers of religion, of various christian denominations, and from all parts of the United Kingdom, held in the town of Manchester, on Tuesday, August 17, and following days,

"Showeth—That your petitioners are ministers of the God of Love and Mercy, who have assembled to consider the laws which restrict the supply of the food of the people.

"That to your petitioners, dwelling in the midst of their charges, and, by habits of frequent and pastoral intercourse, familiar with their actual condition, and still further informed by the evidence submitted to this Conference by unimpeachable witnesses; it is most unquestionable that evils the most serious are preying on the very vitals of the country, and that the labouring classes throughout the kingdom are sinking into the lowest condition of physical suffering, and pining away under a wasting destitution of the necessaries of life.

"That your petitioners would feel themselves most unworthy of the office they sustain, and the Master they serve, were they to view such a state of things with indifference, or to allow it to become daily more and more aggravated, without directing their attention to its cause, and seeking the means of its alleviation.

"That, to your petitioners, it appears obvious beyond all doubt, that whatever other causes may have contributed to the frightful amount of misery which they deplore, the principle has been the provision laws, which make the very necessaries of life scarce and dear, and by their mischievous operation have at the same time enhanced the price of food and diminished the ability to purchase it; and that as obviously the remedy for this evil is the abrogation of the laws which have produced it.

"That, to your petitioners, it is manifest that any law tending to produce a scarcity of the food necessary to sustain the life of man, or to increase its price, and so to throw difficulties in the way of procuring it, is a wrong done to society at large, and a direct and glaring violation of the will and law of the universal parent of mankind.

"That your petitioners are only acting in the spirit of their office when they remind your honourable house that laws of human legislatures should be framed in strict accordance with the declared will of God and the beneficent designs of his providence; and that all laws which contradict his will, and counteract his bounty, must of necessity be wrong in principle, and injurious in their tendency; and that it is the deliberate and solemn conviction of this assembly that this is the unrighteous character of the operation of the provision laws of this kingdom, under whose baneful influence our beloved country is severed from profitable intercourse with other countries which are ready to exchange their products for our manufactures—the skill and labour of the industrious classes of our countrymen are rendered of less and less avail to their own subsistence, whilst immense numbers of them from day to day are thrown out of employment, and reduced to a state of utter destitution; or cast upon the rapidly decreasing resources of the humane and charitable, who, in their turn, are sinking down into the abject condition of paupers; and famine, disease, and death are spreading with fearful desolation throughout the length and breadth of this once prosperous and happy land.

"Your petitioners, therefore, convinced of the sinfulness of these laws, which violate the paramount law of God and restrict the bounty of his providence; of their injurious operation on the domestic comforts, and the social, moral, and religious condition of the people of these realms; of the vast amount of evil they have already produced, and of the fearful rapidity with which they are driving on their injured and suffering victims to despondency or desperation, and threatening the peace and safety of the empire, implore your honourable house, as you fear that God who is the friend and avenger of the poor, as you love that country whose interests are committed into your hands, to take into your early and most serious consideration the provision laws, and especially the corn-laws, which have wrought this enormous amount of evil and misery, for the purpose of devising such means as to your honourable house may seem meet for their abolition.

"And your petitioners will ever pray," &c.

The Rev. E. H. NOLAN moved, and the Rev. P. BREWSTER, of Paisley, seconded:—

"That the petition to the House of Commons be presented by the members for Manchester and Salford, and that Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P. for Stockport, be requested to support such petition; also that the petition to the House of Lords be presented by Lord Ducie."

The Rev. J. P. MURSELL, of Leicester, moved, and the Rev. J. WEBB, of Arnsby, seconded the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:—

"That this Conference earnestly recommends to all who may approve it, to set apart Monday, the 6th of September, as a day for humiliation before Almighty God, on account of our sins, and for solemn prayer that it might please him in his superintending providence to remove the distresses which at this time afflict the country, and which especially bow down the hearts of the suffering poor, to revive trade and commerce in the land, and to endow our senators at this important crisis with the wisdom which is profitable to direct."

The Rev. J. SOMERVILLE, of Dumbarton, moved, and Dr. HALLEY seconded the following resolution:—

"That while the Conference declines to prescribe any distinct or specific plan of operations to be pursued by the members after this meeting breaks up, we pledge ourselves that, by all such means as may be deemed by the individuals themselves best fitted to advance the great cause in which we are engaged, we shall never cease in our efforts till these unjust and unchristian enactments, which restrict the supplies of food, are expunged from the statute book."

The following resolution was then proposed and agreed to:—

"That the following gentlemen constitute a committee to superintend the printing and circulation of the address to the people of the United Kingdom, to effect publication, in a revised and authentic form, of the proceedings of the Conference, and to attend to any other business which may be left in an unfinished state, or which may arise out of its proceedings, with power to fill up vacancies:—Rev. Messrs. M'Kerrow, Fletcher, Massie, Beardsall, Lee, Gwyther, F. A. Cox, L.L.D., Carlile, Hinton, and N. M. Harry.

The CHAIRMAN then intimated that a deputation from the Operative Anti-corn-law Association requested to be admitted.

A motion was then made that the deputation should be heard, which being agreed to, the deputation, consisting of six members of that body, were then admitted, and on advancing to the platform, were very warmly received. One of the number then read an address agreed to by the association to the Conference, containing their sentiments on the corn-law question.

The Rev. W. M'KERROW moved that this address, like the preceding ones, should be recorded on the minutes.—The Rev. J. W. MASSIE seconded the motion, which was carried.

The CHAIRMAN then presented to the deputation the right hand of fellowship on behalf of the Conference, and after affectionately addressing them, they withdrew.

The Rev. WILLIAM JONES, of Bolton, moved, and the Rev. T. THOMAS, of Pontypool, seconded a vote of thanks to the chairman; and the meeting then separated about half-past eight o'clock.

FOURTH DAY, *Friday*, *August* 20.

The Conference opened this morning at a later hour, and though that portion of the hall set aside for the public was unusually crowded, yet many of the ministers from a distance having been called away, the body of the room was not so well filled. There were still, however, upwards of 250 ministers present.

The Rev. THOMAS SPENCER, clergyman, Hinton Charter House, near Bath, took the chair, according to previous arrangement, and opened the proceedings.

The Rev. J. W. MASSIE explained that it had been thought that an addition should be made to the committee appointed by the Conference on the preceding day, two from Scotland, one from London, and also that the four chairmen, being well acquainted with the proceedings, should be added to the list. He moved that the names, therefore, of the Rev. Dr. Cox, Rev. T. Adkins, Rev. Mr. Chaplin, Rev. T. Spencer, Rev. Dr. Vaughan, Rev. James Robertson, Edinburgh, and the Rev. Alexander Harvey, Glasgow, be added to the committee.

The Rev. W. M'KERROW seconded the motion, and it was adopted.

The Conference was then addressed by the Revs. G. Hoyle, Stalybridge; P. Gunn, Roman catholic, Fermanagh, Ireland; Harris, Ringwood, Hampshire; Good, Gosport; Meldon, Chichester; Garvie, London; Armstrong, Bristol; Giles, Liverpool; Sedgwick, Brighton; and T. Gisborne, Esq., late M.P. for Carlow. The statements made by these gentlemen as to the effect of the corn-laws in the various localities in which they resided, strongly exemplified the evils resulting from class legislation and our present system of restrictive policy, and when arranged and condensed into one focus, they will tell powerfully upon the public mind.

The Rev. WALTER SCOTT, of Airedale, near Bradford, then proposed the following resolution:—

"That without pretending to exercise any authority, which its temporary constitution does not give, or presuming to prescribe any course to be pursued by the members of it after its conclusion, this Conference would respectfully suggest that considerable efficiency may be given to its purposes and resolutions by such publications of its proceedings as they may deem suitable in their several localities, by availing themselves of the instrumentality of the press, to circulate information on the general subject, and by congregational and local petitions to both houses of parliament."

The Rev. H. SOLLY, of Yeovil, seconded the resolution, and it was adopted.

The Rev. Mr. JONES, a Welsh minister, then spoke, after which the Rev. Mr. SMITH, tutor of Rotherham college, moved, and the Rev. W. AULD, of Greenock, seconded the following resolution:—

"That the heartfelt thanks of this Conference be returned to the gentlemen with whom it originated, and by whom its preliminary arrangements were executed; and also to the numerous friends in Manchester and its neighbourhood for their hospitality."

The CHAIRMAN then adjourned the Conference to half-past four o'clock.

The Rev. Mr. BROWN, of Wareham, opened the proceedings this afternoon by moving that the cordial thanks of the meeting be given to the Mayor and Boroughreeve, for the use of the Town hall. The Rev. Mr. GWYTHER seconded the resolution, and the Rev. Mr. BROWN, of Poole, supported it.

The Rev. C. N. GOULTY moved a vote of thanks to the families of Manchester, to whose generous hospitality the ministers were indebted during their stay in Manchester. The Rev. Mr. CAMPBELL seconded the motion, and it was carried.

A deputation from the Anti-corn-law League, consisting of Sir Thos. Potter, Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P., and Messrs. James Kershaw, C. J. S. Walker, Elkanah Armitage, George Wilson, J. Bazley, jun., William Bickham, James Howie, John Brooks, A. Prentice, William Rawson, George Thompson, and one or two others, then entered, and were received with loud cheers.

Mr COBDEN read the report, which was received with loud cheers. The following is a copy:—

"To the christian ministers of all denominations, in conference assembled for the consideration of the laws restricting the food of the people, the address of the executive council of the Anti-corn-law League in Manchester.

"Reverend Sirs, we beg respectfully to tender you our earnest and grateful thanks for the zealous and truly christian services which you have rendered to the cause of suffering humanity, and to express our acknowledgments for the sanction which your dignified proceedings have given to our past labours, and from which we shall derive increased encouragement and a new stimulus to our future efforts.

"The religious world will regard the acts of your Conference as a noble illustration of the true spirit of a christian ministry, whose benign influence can never be more consistently exerted than when vindicating the cause of the poor and destitute.

"We highly appreciate the minute and startling array of evidence brought by you from all parts of the empire, and proving on such unimpeachable testimony the physical and moral degradation of great numbers of the people, as well in the agricultural as in the manufacturing counties. You have thus made it manifest that, during the long continuance of extreme scarcity and dearness of provisions consequent upon unwise and unjust legislation, the condition of the labouring classes has rapidly deteriorated—that the demand for labour has declined—that wages (notwithstanding the assertion of the monopolists to the contrary) have materially decreased—and that, from these causes, multitudes of our industrious fellow-countrymen have been cruelly and needlessly subjected to all the evils of misery, disease, and premature death.

"Sympathising with you in the still augmenting distress of our poorer brethren, and fortified by the facts with which your testimony has supplied us, we shall continue to advocate, and with renewed energy, the abolition of these impious laws, which, by limiting the food of the people, and restricting the demand for labour, have been the main source of the manifold ills now afflicting the community.

"Whilst giving expression to our grateful thanks of the inestimable value of your present labours, permit us to beseech your continued efforts in furtherance of the righteous and philanthropic work in which, as christian ministers, you have engaged.

"We would earnestly entreat you, in your respective spheres of usefulness, individually to use the influence of your sacred calling in awakening the public mind to the national importance of this great question.

"We rely on the moral weight of your example; we trust much to the efficacy of your pulpit exhortations; we feel that to your supplications at the throne of the Most High the poor and wretched may yet look with humble hope, and in the christian confidence that justice, so long denied, will at last be rendered them; and resting with firm reliance on your pious and patriotic efforts, we look forward with well-grounded assurance to the early and triumphant issue of a struggle on which depends the happiness or misery of millions of our fellow-creatures, and the prosperity or irretrievable ruin of our beloved country."

The CHAIRMAN briefly addressed the deputation, and a motion that the address be received, and entered upon the minutes of the Conference, was then made and agreed to.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., then came forward, and delivered a most eloquent and powerful address; after which the CHAIRMAN closed the proceedings in an appropriate and affectionate speech, and declared the Conference dissolved.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"A Wesleyan Dissenter." We will return the paper as desired, in expectation of another letter. We must request our able correspondent, however, to confine himself to about half a column. Short letters have two advantages—they are mostly read, and they allow room for something else.

"A Subscriber" next week.

J. C. received.

H. We thank him for his kind letter, both compliments and cautions. We think as it concerns ourselves more than our readers, and our columns are crowded with a report of proceedings at Manchester, he will see the propriety of our not inserting it.

We respectfully request our country friends, in all possible cases, to give their orders to the news agents in their respective localities; where this is impracticable, the better way is to send the amount of subscription (26*s.* per annum) by post-office order, direct to the office, which will secure the regular transmission of the paper to their address.

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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 25, 1841.

POLITICAL CRYSTALISATION.

THE few days of sunshine with which we have been lately favoured, have tended to ripen the grain and to resuscitate the almost extinct hopes of the monopolists. The conservatives, relieved from the pressure of immediate fear, begin to pluck up spirits and to dream of golden days. Their hope is delusive—their dreams unsubstantial. The near prospect we have had of a deficient harvest, with all its train of horrors, even should the anticipated evil be happily averted, has already pushed the nation forward to "the beginning of the end." Going back is out of the question.

Most of our readers—all of them who have made chemical science any part of their study—have witnessed, not without astonishment, the process of crystalisation. The transparent liquid, charged with saline particles, is submitted to the process of gradual evaporation. Tediously does the operation go on for many an hour without exhibiting the smallest sign of change, save indeed that what was greatly diluted shows somewhat more consistency, But let a pin point or a straw be introduced at the proper moment, and instantly from the point of contact crystals shoot forth. With inconceivable rapidity formation succeeds formation, and, before you have time to give utterance to your amazement, the liquid has become solid—one mass of regular, symmetrical, crystalised matter.

Thus it is with the gradual spread of public opinion, and its rapid, almost instantaneous, development, when once maturely formed. How many years will truth be held in solution by the public mind, unseen, and by many unsuspected, before it takes shape and solidifies itself. Time, conversation, the efforts of public men, and the influence of passing events, like evaporation, give to what was at first thin and washy, somewhat more of intensity and strength, and gradually condense mere floating opinion into conviction, desire, stern resolution. Still there is no outward change, no visible embodiment of the thoughts and principles with which the public mind is saturated. All is yet transparent, colourless, unfixed; when suddenly some event, quite insignificant it may be in itself, touches the surface of society at a single point. Action begins—not incoherent and unmeaning action—but definite, well planned, direct—organisation spreads with the speed of light; and, to the amazement of all parties, purposes which a few months before were scarcely whispered in society, suddenly, and as by magic, become realities. Thus was it with catholic emancipation, thus with parliamentary reform, and thus will it be with the great principles of free trade.

Let not the tories mistake. Crystalisation has commenced. Wet weather seems to have been the appointed instrument to answer that purpose—and, once fairly begun, we defy the world to stop it. The people are now in earnest—what magic of Sir Robert Peel's is to charm them back again into listlessness? What political mesmerism is to lull to rest a nation's hunger? Will the tories tell us that?

For surely it cannot be a matter of doubt even with the monopolists themselves, that the question of free trade, and especially the repeal of the corn laws, has, during the last six weeks, put on an aspect of seriousness, such as it had never before assumed. It is not now, as once it was, a speculation to be entertained at leisure, and laid aside at the claims of more urgent affairs. It has recently become the all in all of political feeling and determination. It has swallowed up every other question. It is the subject of earnest daily thought to the whole population. The cold and ungenial summer and the unprecedented depression of trade have driven it home to every man's business and bosom. It has enlisted on its behalf, not simply the convictions of the intelligent, not the mere political predilections of party, but the uncontrollable appetites of the starving poor, the sympathies of the humane, the principles of the religious. "Ought to be" has of late been succeeded by "shall be." The tories have now to deal, not with a nation's sense of right, but with a nation's settled will. They had better stand in the path of the hunted lion, than stand between the country and its fixed purpose of abolishing the corn laws.

Little do they know of human nature, who imagine, that should the present harvest turn out an average one, which, however, is not at all likely, the present feeling against these restrictions upon the importation of food will become manageable, if it do not die away altogether. Dreamers! Has not the selfish, reckless, suicidal policy of our aristocratic rulers dragged us to the very verge of bankruptcy and ruin? Why the nation has, within the last month, but barely balanced itself on the brink of universal beggary; and, whilst every member of it trembled with apprehension, has been compelled to look down into the yawning abyss before its feet, dizzy with the horrible prospect, until the cold sweat burst from every pore. If a few days sunshine and a fair harvest should unexpectedly save them this time from destruction, is it probable that they will submit to the chance of another peril such as this? No! no! Let not the monopolists "lay the flattering unction to their souls." We tell them the country has been driven too far forward to allow of any future indifference to the question. It has been taught to feel that the matter is anything but a joke.

At this critical moment parliament has assembled—a parliament pledged to the cause of monopoly. The majority, led on by Sir Robert Peel, will, we suppose, seize the strongholds of office. And then what will he do? Himself has given no sign. His subordinates have given no sign. Nothing has oozed out through the press. Silence the most remarkable has been preserved on the subject. The future policy of the conservative leader is a secret which, if any of his followers are acquainted with, none of them have yet divulged. We imagine they are not informed of his plans, beyond that of turning out the whigs. We suspect, moreover, that his plans are not yet decided on, that he is himself in perplexity, that in common with the people he feels that a real struggle is approaching, and for reality he is unprepared.

The mystery in which Sir Robert now enwraps himself must very speedily be dissipated. He must presently disclose his intentions. If, on the subject of free-trade, his measures fall short in liberality of the meagre ones of his predecessors, as we question not they will, then must he expect a deadly fire to be opened upon him from all quarters. The people only wait until he shall show himself. With them, not with the whigs, has the real battle to be fought. The fixed duty which he was able to refuse, will not now content the roused and indignant country. The man who forbad "protection" will, we trust, be unable to prevent repeal.

SIR ROBERT PEEL.

THE skill that this gentleman possesses, in evading good reasons and glossing a bad cause, would have enabled him, had he been devoted to truth and pursued power by its aid and his own talents, to become the most powerful man in England. He is now a man of talents used by smaller minds for narrow purposes. The gifts of nature have been sacrificed to the aristocratic Moloch of England. His natural powers have been cut down to the policy of a section.

It is the besetting and besotting sin of the middle classes that they sacrifice to the desire of being received by our aristocracy, their relationship to the people from whom they spring—they sever the healthy connexion by which they became, and would continue, powerful, and become little among the great "by courtesy;" and this gentleman, who might have been, by his talents, the first and most powerful commoner in England, is now the mere instrument of a party. The aristocracy court him only that they may use him, but he and all those who desert the class to which they belonged—the people, may be assured, that in the eyes of a bigotted and imbecile *noblesse*, they are never purified from the original sin of having sprung from the ranks—of having within the time of memory been, or been raised from, amongst the poor. Had he sprung from a courtesan of a Stewart, instead of a tradesman of this generation, he would have been *legalised*. Would such a man be obliged to resort to a Tamworth constituency in order to obtain a hearing had he been true to the people? No, nor would he, had he chosen to be beloved by his countrymen, instead of choosing to be tolerated and used by the aristocracy.

Men with great talents and small moral strength crawl up into a peerage, and sink into nothingness for ribbons or a gold stick; the nobles of nature become the tools of the imbeciles.

It is thus that the lifeless body of the aristocracy supply themselves with vitality from the people, and corrupt those whom they could not otherwise subdue. By giving a twentieth of the fruits of their places and pensions to the really talented, the aristocracy have been able to secure the other nineteen twentieths of their power and patronage to themselves and their younger sons, and to preserve the wicked law of primogeniture. Whoever reads the trimming, shirking speeches of this subtle politician, and considers the mental labour requisite to enable a man to flicker about a truth, trying to appear its advocate though intending to obscure it, will be ready to exclaim with us,—how much has been lost to the cause of humanity and social progression by the course which this gentleman's education and love of artificial distinction has induced him to pursue!

We expect he will descend into a peerage if he lives to a moderately old age.

THE MANCHESTER CONFERENCE.

ON the 23rd of June, the *Nonconformist*, in an article entitled "What is my duty to my neighbour?" gave the following expression of its sentiments:—

"It is not for us to dictate—but we do think that the church (we mean good men of whatever sect) owes it to the world to give a solemn expression of opinion on the question of monopolies. We presume not to point out the precise mode in which it may be most effectually done—but done we are convinced it might be, ought to be. Whatever the state-church may think on this matter (and being itself a monopoly, it is only natural that it should join the confederacy of the monopolists), at all events, unfettered Christianity ought to wash her hands of the sin. There is a moral power in her voice which nothing can eventually gainsay. Her glance has been felt heretofore as the lightning of heaven. She frowned, and slavery

quailed before her, and fled the British dominions. Let her array herself once more in awful majesty, and come forth to vindicate the oppressed and pillaged people of these realms. Let her lift up her hand to heaven and swear "Monopoly shall cease." T'would be as the blast which shook down the walls of Jericho. No confederation could much prolong the existence of the accursed system."

The preliminary meeting held at Manchester, to consider the propriety of holding a ministerial conference on the subject of the corn-laws, was convened on the 12th of July, nearly three weeks after the above suggestion was thrown out. We shall not presume to claim for ourselves the honour of having sown the seed, which, falling on a good soil, has produced such glorious fruit. But we may be allowed to congratulate ourselves on having seen the idea, to which we were the first to give expression, realised. Unfettered Christianity has spoken—spoken aloud—spoken, we trust, effectually.

The conference has terminated its labours. To some of its minor arrangements, we might offer an objection, were it not that its conduct as a whole was so appropriate, so dignified, so entirely in unison with the ardent wishes of the best friends of the cause, as to disarm all petty criticism. Merging, therefore, any little differences of opinion respecting mere details, we hasten to tender our most cordial thanks to those gentlemen, whose ability and zeal have enabled them to manage a most difficult work in a manner not unworthy the vast importance of the question at issue. They deserve, and they will command the respectful gratitude of every British patriot.

Let us calmly attempt to estimate the value of this movement.

That it has attracted to the question of corn-monopoly a serious attention which was never before given to it, the worst enemies of the conference tacitly admit, even in the very act of denying it. The ribaldry, the reckless falsehood, and the venemous slaver of the *Times*, squirted day after day upon the conference, with a malignity which grinned, and gnashed its teeth where it could not bite—the snarling and yelping of the smaller curs of the conservative metropolitan press, and the amusing small-toned trebled-piped half-whine, half-howl of the whole puppy brood in the provinces—the candid objections of some of the liberal organs, met by the reasonings of others—the novelty of the thing—the extra or rather ultra-routine character of such a convention—the letters of ministers *pro* and *con*—all helped to draw unwonted atttention to the meeting and to invest it with uncommon interest. Never did the corn-law question occupy so prominent a position in the view of all parties. The sleepy rubbed their eyes and looked—men who hated the cause were compelled to gaze—the fastest friends of it felt their interest in it revived and, as it were, new-born. It was talked of in churches—discussed in every parlour—examined and argued in counting-houses—touched upon in pulpits—in all places where men meet, and women too, the food-monopoly, in connection with the conference, became the topic of earnest conversation. If the proceeding had been attended with no other than this incidental benefit, Great Britain has reason to be thankful to those gentlemen who promoted it.

But it has secured other and far higher advantages. It has, once for all, taken the question out of the cold, clear, frosty region of political economy, and transplanted it to the sunnier climate of humanity and religion. The league had made it, as became them, a business of the head—the conference makes it a business of the heart. "Every thing in its own order." To reason the matter out, as a question of political economy, was necessary before it could be fairly addressed to the sympathies and religious principles of men. The league proves the genuineness and authenticity of the text, the conference takes it and preaches it to the conscience and best affections of the nation. The cause will now grow with a vigour and rapidity never heretofore exhibited. It will strike its roots deeper—it will throw out more luxuriant branches—it will produce more abundant fruit. The people of these realms promptly respond to a question of humanity, even when the same question, politically viewed, could elicit but feeble interest. Thousands who treated the corn-laws as a matter of mere speculative opinion, will henceforth identify them with national immorality, and will calmly, and on principle, go to work to destroy them.

The conference dealt with principles—and in its memorials, addresses, petitions, brought out those principles in all their breadth and depth. We shall not speculate upon the party predilections of individuals who composed that assembly—whatever they were, they were wisely kept in abeyance. Not a whisper is there in any of the documents of party politics—no whiggery, which we most feared—no friendly reference to mere compromising measures, in which an attempt is made to knead justice and injustice into one mass. The question is taken up as it should be, on the broad ground of morality. In the petition to the House of Commons, we have the following noble passages—

"That, to your petitioners, it is manifest that any law tending to produce a scarcity of the food necessary to sustain the life of man, or to increase its price, and so to throw difficulties in the way of procuring it, is a wrong done to society at large, and a direct and glaring violation of the will and law of the universal Parent of mankind."

And again—

"Your petitioners, therefore, convinced of the sinfulness of these laws, which violate the paramount law of God, and restrict the bounty of his providence; of their injurious operation on the domestic comforts, and the social, moral, and religious condition of the people of these realms; of the vast amount of evil they have already produced, and of the fearful rapidity with which they are driving on their injured and suffering victims to despondency or desperation, and threatening the peace and safety of the empire, implore your Honourable House, as you fear that God who is the friend and avenger of the poor, as you love that country whose interests are committed into your hands, to take into your early and most serious consideration the provision laws, and especially the corn laws, which have wrought this enormous amount of evil and misery, for the purpose of devising such means as to your Hon. House may seem meet for their abolition."

This is noble language—language which, whilst it does honour to those who give utterance to it, furnishes a powerful antidote to the drug with which whig policy would have charmed the country asleep. The party now in power (we mean in office) have played the part of Delilah to the people—have sung to it, and lulled it to rest, that they might treacherously cut off the tresses in which national strength resides. We rejoice that by simply avoiding all reference to the party, and honestly enouncing great principles, the conference has gone far to put an end to the paltry tampering with momentous interests of which we have lately seen so much.

The interview between the conference and the hand-loom weavers opens a new and still more interesting view of the whole question. For the first time within the records of our history, we have Want and Religion meeting in public, by chosen representatives, and shaking hands—Want looking wistfully, but with profound respect, into the face of Religion, and asking friendly aid—and Religion acknowledging with forward earnestness the claims of Want upon her notice, and eagerly proffering such assistance as she could command. Did not that address of the hand-loom weavers send a pang through the heart of every minister present, that the Christianity of our land has neglected hitherto to care for the poor man's rights—in consequence of which Christianity has lost her hold upon the affections of the poor man's heart? Why, here, for the *first* time, ministers of the gospel openly espouse the cause of the oppressed at home—and they are scarcely met, before Destitution kneels in homage and gratitude to kiss their feet. These men ought never to have been left alone in their bitter trials. Coldness has scared them from all communion with truth. Religious men—aye! ministers have stood by and seen them bruised, crushed, rendered desolate by oppression—and never protested, never remonstrated, never petitioned. Slavery abroad took hold of their sympathies—at home it moaned and cried in vain. O! if the spirit that animated this Conference had but breathed in the teachers of the gospel twenty years since, instead of the paltry, cowardly antipathy to every imputation of being political; the great mass of labouring men would never have welcomed infidelity and gladly rushed into the impieties and inanities of Owenism! Even now, one ray of real kindliness draws forth the sons of poverty from the darkness in which they sought to hide their misery, and they hasten to show respect to christianity when acting out her own god-like principles. It is a touch of the true sublime.

Space will not allow us to say more. We might have adverted to the mass of valuable facts which this conference has been instrumental in gathering—to the zeal which it has kindled in the hearts of those present, who will each go back to his own sphere to kindle others in the good cause. But we must have done. We earnestly wished the conference "God speed," we now "thank God" that it has done its duty.

PARLIAMENTARY CLISHMACLAVER.

THE party organs have been busy for the last two or three weeks in speculating upon the course which the minister expectant will take in parliament.

We will venture upon a little bit of speculation as to the course of both sections.

Both whigs and tories will use their parliamentary talks to daub each other with their respective inconsistencies. The crop is plentiful, and reaping it gives them, as partisans, shallow victories full of sound but signifying nothing; and the people now know it. It is seen to be the mere squabbling of class interests. They get over session after session this way, and fail to notice the signs of the times.

The people do not look to them now with hope—the House of Commons, so called, does not, in their opinion, represent them—that delusion has long since passed away from the working community and from the uneasy classes, and those two, from their great preponderance in numbers, are now, in Great Britain, entitled to the appellation of the people.

The people are no longer deluded by parliamentary debates—to them they are mere verbiage—they look for organic change, and they know the whigs to be as really opposed to that change as the tories, and that the tories are, as to the poor laws, skilled in tricksy words, and only use them to evade the substance of the matter.

Parliamentary debates are nights of roundabout—the staple, just now, the whig tariff, which proposes a fixed scale of semi-starvation instead of an uncertain quantity of privation.

The two sections will go on debating the scale of starvation and the degrees to be marked upon it, the people having become convinced that the scale itself must be thrown aside, not only as to corn and food, but as to every other tax, except a tax on property.

All public bodies move slowly, and aristocratic public bodies, on subjects of legislation, move more slowly than any other, because the "order" is founded in selfishness, and their interests are exclusive.

Legislation is in the hands of the aristocracy: they obtained it by the previous injustice of appropriating the land to themselves in fee, instead of rendering the rents to the state as the means of supplying the common expenditure; that is, the expenditure necessary for public objects—such as the expenses of government, the making roads, harbours, and bridges, and the maintenance of the poor and impotent. These are duties which society owes to its members, and which are imposed upon it by the Creator, who benevolently supplied the means, by the gift of the elements to man in common, and in supplying to each individual being his separate portion of power to labour in making them fruitful.

In the state of semi-barbarism called the feudal system, and when land was of little value because men were few, and science and the arts in their infancy, the barons usurped possession by force, and they have since sanctified that possession by laws and teaching, so far as they teach through the instrumentality of their universities and the clergy, their nominees and instruments.

Through the universities they educate as clergymen their sons and nephews, and by them they take a tenth of the fruits of the people's labour.

The universities are normal schools for rearing parochial mind-twisters, whose business it is to see that thirty-nine stagnant mixtures are taken and not shaken; and that the young clods are catechised to reverence their pastors and masters, meaning the priests and the peers, and all that are in authority over them.

That these are purposes for which the clergy are educated and set apart, and that they so understand it, was recently evidenced in the fact that the approach of a coming event having alarmed their fears, they petitioned parliament that no grant should be passed for educating the poor unless they were taught by them!

Let in the light upon a nest of owls and they will petition for twilight. Here was only the talk of an additional ray of light, and the clergy prayed that the people might not be allowed to receive it unless the clergy were licensed to supply it through coloured lenses. The aristocracy thus take, in addition to the land, a tenth of its produce. The House of Commons, controlled by the House of Lords both in their creation and their action, was merely a portion of the machinery by which, during the eighteenth century, the people were led to believe that they had a representative form of government and free institutions, and were born free.

The progress which truth has made amongst the people has been made notwithstanding that aristocratic error has been in the ascendant.

The art of printing soon compelled the possessors of the sword and the baton to support their privileges and their pretensions by appeals to reason and argument, or the appearance of it.

Caxton's missionaries have taught men that privileges to any, not proceeding from the people, are wrongs to all; and that hereditary legislation adds enormous folly to enormous injustice.

The influence which works out occasionally the expression of popular opinions in parliament is indirect, and therefore it is that we have so many who say good things, and so few who act them—for actions have to make way against the suppressive influence of the aristocracy and their church. A century of verbiage has made the poor in particular know that parliamentary words are but chaff—mere seemings; they are prepared to expect that there will be the usual clang of words without substance—to witness the strife of their sectional interests, knowing that a union exists to ward off organic change—in short, they expect that the parliamentary gong will be sounded as loud, perhaps a little louder than usual, but they know that the people must consider for themselves how and when starvation shall cease.

The late Lord Fitzwilliam set them the example. It would be as as lawful for any individual and for every individual man, to resolve that he would not pay any tax until the taxes on food are repealed, or until an *ad valorem* property tax is imposed, as it was for that lord to declare that he would not voluntarily pay taxes until the reform bill passed.

Reform must come from without—the clergy, by compelling the conscientious amongst the dissenters to submit to have their goods sold rather than pay rates to a state-church, are teaching the people a mode which it is not unlikely will be adopted to put an end to all taxation until it is made equal. Church cess in Ireland was so abolished, and a successful example once set is catching.

SUMMARY.

In the political world things get somewhat brisker. The conference at Manchester closed its labours on Friday evening, when George Thompson, Esq., delivered a valedictory address. The interest taken in the proceeding in the neighbourhood of Manchester was intense—speechifying, in the ordinary sense of the term, there was little or none—but an immense deal of business was quietly and most effectively got through. They who anticipated a mere outburst of vapid declamation will find now how egregiously they were mistaken. The business air and tact of the conference might put to shame the more experienced but less dignified House of Commons.

Parliament met on Thursday, and a Speaker was chosen for the House of Commons. Mr. Shaw Lefevre, the selection of whom the *Times* declared would break up Sir Robert Peel's party within twelve months, was unanimously, and with many compliments, placed in the chair.

On *Sunday*, the tories held their preliminary political gathering. "The better the day the better the deed," seems to be their maxim. They have already succeeded in debasing religion to mere politics—and now they are bent on converting politics into religion. Some of the party, with the hypocritical connivance or more hypocritical approbation of the rest, will, we suppose, bring forward at an early period a bill for "the better observance of the Lord's day." Many simple persons may imagine that there is some inconsistency in this. Poor ignorant souls! do they not know that the gospel was only intended for the poor?

Yesterday the Queen's speech was delivered by commission. From the previous tone of the public press, one might have imagined that it was to be an elaborate and argumentative state-paper. It turns out, however, to be as tame and common-place as royal speeches usually are.

Tame as it is, an amendment will be moved (we write on Tuesday night) which will have the probable effect of stifling discussion, and the certain one of turning out the ministry. Sir R. Peel, we are informed by the *Times*, is prepared with a list of names for office. Lord Aberdeen is to take the foreign department, Lord Stanley the colonial, and Lord Lyndhurst the chancellorship. Three recreants to their principles, filling three of the most important posts of Government, prepares us for any tergiversation which events may render expedient.

Let those who expect great things of the whigs in opposition sharpen their sight! Our own judgment is that the whigs, as a party, are defunct. They have irretrievably forfeited the confidence of the country. The people have ceased to look to them as their leaders, and, as we think, wisely so. Lord John Russell knows well that the present House of Commons does not represent the views and wishes of the nation. But will he aim to give them a more perfect representation? Will he ask for them the protection of the ballot? Will he contend for an enlarged constituency? We shall see.

We refer our readers to our intelligence from China and America. Other foreign news may be regarded as unimportant.

A Cabinet Council was held on Wednesday afternoon at the Foreign Office. It was attended by Viscount Melbourne, the Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Clarendon, Marquis of Normanby, Viscount Palmerston, Lord John Russell, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Earl of Minto, Sir George Grey, Mr. Labouchere, Lord Morpeth, and Mr. Macaulay. The council sat three hours.

There was a muster of the tory expectants at Sir Robert Peel's residence in Whitehall gardens, on Thursday, when Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, Mr. Goulbourn, Sir Henry Hardinge, Sir Thomas Freemantle, and several other influential tories were present. The Duke of Wellington was there, but no other peer was admitted to the conference which lasted about two hours.—*Morning Chronicle.*

The Duke of Wellington has returned to town in better health than he has experienced for some years past. The illustrious duke has expressed his willingness to form a part of the new conservative government, and to co-operate with Sir R. Peel in the event of the hon. baronet being summoned by his Sovereign to form an administration. —*Times.*

The Lord Chamberlain has appointed the Honourable and Reverend Baptist Wriothesley Noel, (the author of a pamphlet lately published against the corn-laws,) to be chaplain in ordinary to the Queen, in the room of the Reverend Alexander John Scott, D. D., deceased,

POSTSCRIPT.

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"We are commanded by her Majesty to acquaint you that her Majesty has availed herself of the earliest opportunity of resorting to your advice and assistance after the dissolution of the last parliament.

"Her Majesty continues to receive from Foreign Powers gratifying assurances of their desire to maintain with her Majesty the most friendly relations.

"Her Majesty has the satisfaction of informing you, that the objects for which the treaty of the 15th of July 1840, was concluded between her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the Sultan, have been fully accomplished, and it is gratifying to her Majesty to be enabled to state, that the temporary separation which the measures taken in the execution of that treaty created between the contracting parties and France, has now ceased.

"Her Majesty trusts that the union of the principal powers upon all matters affecting the great interests of Europe will afford a firm security for the maintenance of peace.

"Her Majesty is glad to be able to inform you that, in consequence of the evacuation of Ghorian by the Persian troops, her Majesty has ordered her Minister to the Court of Persia to return to Teheran.

"Her Majesty regrets that the negociations between her Plenipotentiaries in China and the Chinese Government have not yet been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and that it has been necessary to call into action the forces which her Majesty has sent to the China seas; but her Majesty still trusts that the Emperor of China will see the justice of the demands which her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries have been instructed to make.

"Her Majesty is happy to inform you, that the differences which had arisen between Spain and Portugal, about the execution of a treaty concluded by those powers in 1835, for regulating the navigation of the Douro, have been adjusted amicably, and with honour to both parties, by the aid of her Majesty's mediation.

"The debt incurred by the legislature of Upper Canada, for the purposes of public works, is a serious obstacle to further improvements which are essential to the prosperity of the United Province. Her Majesty has authorised the Governor-general to make a communication on the subject to the Council and Assembly of Canada. Her Majesty will direct the papers to be laid before you, and trusts that your earnest attention will be directed to matters so materially affecting the welfare of Canada and the strength of the empire."

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"We have to assure you that her Majesty relies with entire confidence on your loyalty and zeal to make adequate provision for the public service, as well as for the further application of sums granted by the last parliament."

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"We are more especially commanded to declare to you that the extraordinary expenses which the events in Canada, China, and the Mediterranean have occasioned, and the necessity of maintaining a force adequate to the protection of our extensive possessions, have made it necessary to consider the means of increasing the public revenue. Her Majesty is anxious that this object should be effected in the manner least burthensome to her people, and it has appeared to her Majesty, after full deliberation, that you may at this juncture properly direct your attention to the revision of duties affecting the productions of foreign countries. It will be for you to consider whether some of these duties are not so trifling in amount as to be unproductive to the revenue, while they are vexatious to commerce. You may further examine whether the principle of protection, upon which others of these duties are founded, be not carried to an extent injurious alike to the income of the state, and the interests of the people.

"Her Majesty is desirous that you should consider the laws which regulate the trade in corn. It will be for you to determine whether these laws do not aggravate the natural fluctuations of supply, whether they do not

embarrass trade, derange currency, and by their operation diminish the comfort and increase the privations of the great body of the community.

"Her Majesty feeling the deepest sympathy with those of her subjects, who are now suffering from distress and want of employment, it is her earnest prayer that all your deliberations may be guided by wisdom, and may conduce to the happiness of her beloved people."

In the House of Commons, after the Speaker had read the Queen's Speech, Mr. Mark Phillips rose to move the address, which was as usual, an echo of the speech. The Hon. W. Dundas seconded the address. Mr. Wortley moved an amendment the substance of whien was that the government did not possess the confidence of parliament, and that they could not, therefore, carry satisfactorily any measures which they might propose. It was seconded by Lord Bruce. Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Bernal, Sir Charles Napier, Mr. Roebuck, and Mr. Muntz spoke in favour of the address; the amendment was advocated by Mr. D'Israeli. The debate was adjourned at twelve o'clock on the motion of Mr. Ewart.

In the House of Lords, after the speech was read by the chancellor and the clerk of the house, Earl Spencer rose to move the address, which was seconded by the Marquis of Clanricarde. An amendment similar to that proposed in the House of Commons was moved by the Earl of Ripon. The address was supported by Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Lyttleton, Viscount Melbourne, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Marquis of Northampton, and Lord Brougham; the amendment was supported by the Duke of Wellington, the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Coventry.

Their lordships divided, and the numbers were—

For the address.....	96
For the amendment.....	168
Majority against the address ..	72

GENERAL POLITICS.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Thursday, Aug. 19.

A considerable number of members attended at the house before 2 o'clock. There were present almost all the eminent men on either side of the house.

At 20 minutes after 2 o'clock Sir Augustus Clifford, the gentleman usher of the black rod, entered the house, and, advancing to the table, said, "The lords authorised by her Majesty's commission command the attendance of this honourable House in the house of peers."

Mr. Ley, the chief clerk of the House, followed by Lord J. Russell and a number of members, immediately proceeded to the house of lords. The noble lord, as he was leaving the house, met Sir R. Peel entering, and they shook hands together in a very cordial manner.

On the return of Mr. Ley, and the members who accompanied him to the house of lords,

Lord Worsley rose and proposed Mr. Shaw Lefevre for the office of speaker. The leading members on the other side, he was sure, would gladly be presided over by a speaker possessing, in so great a degree, the requisite qualifications for the duties of the chair; and (from the cheers which ensued) he was glad to collect that there was no intention on the other side of proposing a speaker inexperienced in the affairs of the House. He quoted the favourable opinion pronounced on Mr. Shaw Lefevre in the last parliament by Lord Stanley, and added a short panegyric of his own.

Mr. E. Buller, in seconding the motion, expatiated on the attention, ability, and impartiality which Mr. Shaw Lefevre had always brought to that important part of his duty which related to private business; and dwelt upon his power of controlling in the chair the unruly passions of the House. The re-election of Mr. Shaw Lefevre would be a high gratification to those whose original selection of him would thus be sanctioned by another vote in his favour, while it would do honour to the members of that party which had originally opposed him. Mr. Buller proceeded to say, that whether the House should adopt those measures which he himself thought essential to the public good, or whether an opposite course should be resolved on [murmurs of disapprobation]—perhaps he was deviating from the strict course of the business in which the House was then engaged, and if so, he threw himself upon its forgiveness; but, at all events, the advantage of so competent a speaker could not fail to be felt in their deliberations.

Sir R. Peel said, he intended on this occasion to act on the principle for which he had contended in 1835, and on which he had acted in 1837. That was the principle supported by the best precedents. Until the time of Lord North's objection to the re-election of Sir F. Norton, no speaker in possession of the chair had been deprived of it by an adverse majority. Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, and Lord Grey had acted on the principle he now supported. He admitted, certainly, that to such a principle there would be a fair exception in the case of an incompetent speaker; but he was bound, in the present instance, to bear testimony to the merits of a gentleman, who had established in the chair a moral influence of infinite importance to the due conduct of their proceedings.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre rose to express his gratitude for the commendations bestowed upon him, which he regarded as an ample reward for the toil and responsibility of the chair. His official experience had taught him to see more clearly than ever the necessity of preserving not only the privileges of the House, but likewise its rules and orders. With that feeling, he should have great apprehensions in resuming the station he had filled, were it not for his reliance on the kindness and support of the House.

Having been then led to the chair between the mover and the seconder, the Speaker returned his thanks to the House for the honour done to him, and assured them that no effort should be wanting on his part toward the discharge of the duty intrusted to him.

Lord J. Russell congratulated the House on the unanimity of their election, and on the qualification of the speaker elected. It had been his own habit to agree with the present speaker upon most political and constitutional questions, and he rejoiced to see that both parties equally concurred in this day's choice. In 1835 he had thought that circumstances connected with the personal conduct of Sir C. Manners Sutton made it necessary that, in spite of that gentleman's eminent fitness for the duties of the chair, another speaker should be chosen; he had not proceeded exclusively on the ground that the speaker's politics ought to be those of the majority.

The House then adjourned, and has since been occupied in swearing in members.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Thursday, Aug 19.

This being the day appointed for the meeting of the second parliament of her Majesty,

The Lord Chancellor, on entering the house at half-past 2 o'clock, addressed their lordships as follows:—"My lords, Her Majesty not thinking fit to be present here this day in her royal person, has been pleased to cause a commission to be issued under the great seal for the opening and holding this parliament."

The Lords Commissioners (namely, the Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Marquis of Normanby, the Earl of Clarendon, and Viscount Duncannon) then took their seats in front of the throne.

The Gentleman Usher of the black rod (Sir A. Clifford) was directed by the Lord Chancellor to summon the Commons, when Mr. Ley, the chief clerk, appeared at the bar, accompanied by several members.

The commission, in the usual form, having been read,

The Lord Chancellor said—"My lords and gentlemen, We have it in command from her Majesty to let you know that you shall hereafter be informed of the cause of calling this parliament together; but it being necessary that a speaker for the House of Commons should first be chosen, you will, for that purpose, return to the place prepared for your meeting, and there be pleased to choose a speaker, and present such person whom you shall so choose here to-morrow, at 2 o'clock, for her Majesty's royal approbation."

The members of the House of Commons then withdrew.

Prayers having been read,

The Lord Chancellor, singly, in the first place, took the oaths at the table.

The certificate of the 16 representative peers for Scotland was read.

Several lords took the oaths.

FOREIGN.

America,—The arrival of the Great Western steamer from New York, after a very rapid passage of 12 days and a half, has brought us the New York papers of the 7th inst. The statement that M'Leod's trial will take place at Utica about the middle of September is confirmed; and it appears that the 19th of that month is the appointed day. The greatest uncertainty prevailed as to the result amongst the friends of M'Leod: and the most determined spirit of revenge and hostility seemed to animate his persecutors.

China.—Among the files of American papers which arrived by the Great Western steam ship, we find a number of the *American Sentinel and Mercantile Advertiser*, published in Philadelphia, and dated August 6, which contains the following intelligence of a date 17 days later than that brought in the ordinary course by the last overland mail from India. We cannot of course vouch for the correctness of information taken from such a source, and in laying it before our readers will only remark, that the means by which it is represented to have reached the American journal are not, as in the case of some recent news from the same quarter, such as require extraordinary credulity on the part of the public to believe. The intelligence, moreover, is apparently consistent with that received on undoubted authority, and if, after all, it should turn out that the whole is a hoax concocted by our witty neighbour across the Atlantic, it must be at least allowed that he has shown much ingenuity in giving fiction the appearance of truth. "We learn from Captain Dumaresq, of the ship Abkar, arrived this morning, 109 days from Canton, that immediately after the fall of the Bogue Forts the city of Canton was evacuated by all who could afford to leave, taking with them their families and property, and when the Abkar left, China-street and business part of the suburbs were deserted, shops closed, and scarcely any one to be seen. On the news of the attack upon the Bogue reaching Pekin, the Emperor ordered three imperial commissioners (one a near relative) to proceed to Canton, and to exterminate the English, swearing in his edict that both powers could not stand, and one or the other must conquer or perish. Keshen was order in chains to the capital to be tried as a traitor, for having degraded himself so much as to meet the plenipotentiary or to listen to the cession of Hong Kong. Two of the important characters reached Canton in time to behold the success of the British arms, and to sign the truce and to sanction a temporary trade. Captain Elliot was at Canton, protected by a military guard, waiting the arrival of Yishan, the Emperor's nephew, who was hourly expected, and who would be compelled, by force of necessity, to sanction the arrangements made by his colleagues. Four men-of-war are stationed in the Macao passage, above Canton, three a few miles below, and six at Whampoa, where they will remain, to insure the safety of the foreigners, and to check any treachery on the part of the local authorities. The other vessels are at the Bogue, Macao, and Hong Kong. Major-General Sir Hugh Gough arrived on the 21st of March, as Commander-in-Chief of the land forces. Sir Gordon Bremer was gone to Bengal for reinforcements, but was expected to return about the 1st of June, when the fleet would go north again, to make another demonstration upon the capital, Pekin. The loss of the Chinese in the various engagements was estimated at 2500 or 3000 men, and about 800 pieces of cannon. The Chinese Admiral, Kewang, fell in defence of the Bogue Forts, as did two other mandarins of high rank. The captain of a British transport, arriving at Chusan after the surrender of that island to the Chinese, was slain on landing. The day after the fall of the Bogue Forts rewards were offered for the capture or destruction of British ships: 100,000 dollars, for a line-of-battle-ship, 10,000 for a steamer, 50,000 for the Admiral or Captain Elliot, if taken alive, and 30,000 for either of their heads. Teas were high and scarce. The Hong merchants would only deal for cash, and insisted on being paid before the teas were delivered. It was believed that the arrangements for trade could not last long, and that the foreigners would be again compelled to leave for Macao. A large encampment of Chinese troops was visible from the factories, at a little distance from Canton, and the number was daily increasing. Green teas were very scarce in market, having been kept back, and large quantities sent away when the British approached the city. The current report on the 14th of April, was that the Chinese government had laid an embargo on all boats, intending to use them for the conveyance of troops."

DOMESTIC.

METROPOLITAN.

On Wednesday a public dinner was given at the Rotunda, in Vauxhall gardens, to celebrate the triumph of reform in Lambeth, by the return of Benjamin Hawes, Esq., M.P., and the Right Hon. C. T. D'Eyncourt, M.P. Upwards of 800 sat down to dinner. At five o'clock W. Hawes, Esq., took the chair; and at the principal table, in addition to the honourable representatives of the borough, were H. Warburton, Esq., M.P.; J. Easthope, Esq., M.P.; G. H. Larpent, Esq., M.P.; J. Q. Harris, Esq., M.P.; Robert Hutton, Esq.; J. Palmer, Esq.; B. Hawes, Esq., &c. The band of the Surrey yeomanry attended, and played several tunes during the repast, and some excellent glees were sung by Messrs. Fry, Turner, Bannister, and Green. The boxes around were graced with the presence of several elegantly dressed ladies.

On Friday the conservatives of Westminster celebrated the late return for that city of Captain the Hon. J. H. Rous, R.N., by a public dinner at the Theatre Royal, Drury-lane. The pit having been boarded over on a level with the stage, the chair was placed midway between the proscenium and the back of the stage. The entire floor was covered with tables, which accommodated between 1,100 and 1,200 persons. A temporary arched ceiling was thrown over the stage, festooned with pink and white, which was diversified with gilt cornices and mirrors of gigantic dimensions. Ladies, attired in the conservative colours, filled the three rows of boxes, the dress circle being tastefully decorated by a range of exotics. The gallery was reserved for a full military band, which was in attendance, and performed several most exquisite pieces of music. Sir F. Burdett, Bart., M.P., acted as chairman, and was supported by a great number of M.Ps'. and other gentlemen.

On Tuesday week a meeting was held in the Thatched House tavern, Islington, for the purpose of hearing Peter Taylor, jun., Esq., one of the members of the Metropolitan Anti-corn-law Association. Mr. Wickham took the chair. The audience was very respectable, and several gentlemen present took part in the discussion. Mr. Taylor was listened to with interest and attention, and after votes of thanks had been carried to him and the chairman, the meeting adjourned until next Tuesday at the Cock, at Highbury, where a large gathering is expected.

Last week the magistrate at the Greenwich police court was occupied for a considerable time in hearing cases against no fewer than one hundred and forty persons who had been summoned for the non-payment of poor-rates. The first case was that of a poor widow, who was summoned for not paying 13*s*. 6*d*. Her appearance bespoke the greatest poverty, and she declared that herself and seven children had nothing to eat on Tuesday but a pennyworth of bread. The second case was that of an old man who was in arrears to the amount of 1*l*. 4*s*. He declared his utter inability to pay, adding that if it had not been for his landlord he should have been starved. He further stated that himself, wife, and children, had nothing but bread for days together. Mr. Burlee, secretary to the Deptford Pier Company, and one of the churchwardens, said that no one could pity more than he did the condition of the persons whom they had that day summoned. He had gone round the parish, and had witnessed the extreme wretchedness and poverty that existed, a vast number being actually without bread or bed, and although literally starving, they preferred it to going into the Greenwich union, the guardians of which had proceeded against himself and the other officers, and it had cost him 250*l*. 8*s*. 10*d*. to redeem his goods, which had been seized by the guardians for the contribution due for the support of the poor of St. Nicholas. The parish under these circumstances, had no alternative but to take the proceedings against the defaulters.

Quarterly average of the weekly liabilities and assets of the Bank of England, from the 25th of May to the 17th of August, 1841, both inclusive, published pursuant to the act 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 98.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
Circulation	£17,228,000	Securities.....	£23,012,000
Deposits	7,956,000	Bullion.....	5,106,000
	£25,184,000		£28,118,000

PROVINCIAL.

On Thursday a dinner was given by Lord Mahon, the conservative member for Hertford, to his constituents of that borough. The dinner took place in the extensive grounds of Mr. Carter, and was served up in a capacious tent, which was decorated with great elegance for the occasion. Lord Mahon took the chair, surrounded by upwards of 400 of the constituency of Hertford. Among the gentlemen who sat at the principal table were:—Sir M. Farquhar, Mr. W. Baker, Mr. G. Brassey, Mr. E. Lewis, Mr. Downe, Mr. J. Lawrence, Mayor, Mr. J. M. Carter, Mr. H. Alington, Mr. P. Longmore, Mr. J. Davis, and Mr. Venour.

At Bexley-heath, in Kent, an immense assemblage gathered, on Tuesday week, in the market-house, for the purpose of hearing Mr. Sidney Smith lecture upon the grievances of the corn-laws. Mr. C. Strong was called to the chair. The audience was not only overflowing but most respectable, and their enthusiasm in the cause of free-trade was loudly evinced.

The members of the Manchester Young Men's Anti-monopoly Association, which has only been established for little more than a month, and already numbers upwards of fifteen hundred subscribers, gave a tea party, in the Corn Exchange, Manchester, on Thursday evening, in honour of the Ministerial Conference on the corn laws. The building was tastefully decorated with banners, and was crowded to excess long before the arrival of the chairman, Edward Herford, Esq., the president of the association. There were many ladies present during the whole of the proceedings. The chairman was supported by the Earl of Ducie, the Rev. T. Adkins, of Southampton, R. Cobden, Esq., M.P., for Stockport, the Rev. T. Spencer, G. Thompson, Esq., Dr. Ritchie, the Rev. J. Carlile, of London, and a large number of ministers who had taken part in the proceedings of the Conference.

At the request of several friends of free trade, a lecture on the corn-laws was delivered on Thursday evening, at Warwick, by Mr. John Bright, of Rochdale, a member of the anti-corn-law league, who has been resident a few weeks at Leamington. The lecture was delivered at the school room of the independent chapel, in Brook-street. This large apartment was crowded to excess. The lecture was listened to with with the utmost attention, many parts of it being loudly applauded.

At a dinner of the shareholders in the Stourbridge and Kidderminster Bank, the other day, the general trade of the district was discussed, and Mr. Crudgington, the submanager of the Kidderminster branch, in adverting to the carpet trade, said that he was happy to announce that a decided improvement had taken place in that branch, which he trusted might be considered indicative of a general revival of the trade of the neighbourhood.—*Worcester Chronicle.*

There was a better demand for yarn yesterday than for some time past, and a fair amount of business was done, though without the slightest advance upon the low rates which previously prevailed. The goods market was worse than this: the demand was very limited, and no sales could be made except at perfectly ruinous prices. Indeed it has been obvious, for some days past, that large stocks of goods were being sacrificed for such prices as the manufacturers could obtain, without reference to their cost; and, until those stocks are cleared off, there can be no legitimate demand.—*Manchester Guardian.*

At length we have the pleasing duty of recording a most favourable and beneficent change in the weather. Since the new moon set in on Monday it has been all that could be desired—drought and sunshine by day and night; and the busy husbandman in our neighbourhood has very heedfully taken time by the forelock, by turning his whole strength, man, woman and child, upon the great work of the season—the securing the produce of his teeming fields. A vast deal of grain has fallen before the sickle during the week, and much of it has even been secured in the rick-yard. We rejoice to say, too, that the late inclement weather has not so much affected the crops in this quarter as was once feared it had, and that both in quantity and quality all descriptions of cereals are rather above than below an average growth. —*Worcester Herald.*

Up to the time of our going to press the weather has been very favourable for the harvest. Sunday was rather cloudy with an occasional trifling shower, and on Tuesday night a few hours' rain fell, with this exception the weather has been beautifully fine and drying. The farmers are very busily employed in getting home their corn.—*Aylesbury News.*

On Monday the moon changed and with it the weather, which has been beautiful since Sunday. The harvest work has begun generally in the country, much of the clean wheats and barley are being housed, and the sickle is manifesting its power in the hands of abundant labourers, whose happiest days are now after the longest day of toil.—*Bedford Mercury.*

On Monday last much interest was felt by the inhabitants of Sunderland and the Wearmouths, to witness the bodily removal of the large stone lighthouse, on the North Pier, at the entrance to Sutherland harbour, to a new station nearer the extreme end of the pier. The process was effected by undermining the tower, and placing it on a truck, by which it was moved along a railway laid for the purpose, upwards of twenty feet towards its intended site. Another week must elapse before it can be moved further; as that time will be required to prepare the railway for the remainder of the distance. The undertaking speaks highly for the genius and energy of Mr. Murray, the engineer, by whom it was planned, and who, we trust, will have the enviable satisfaction of seeing it successfully completed.

IRELAND.

The following letter from Lord Morpeth has been published in the Irish papers:—

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE DUBLIN MONITOR.

"16*th August*, 1841.

"Sir—I see that a friendly correspondent in your paper has done me the honour to suggest 'that an Irish constituency should now return Lord Morpeth voluntarily and unsolicitedly.' I have had such recent experience of the extent of Irish kindness and generosity, that there is, perhaps, less presumption in supposing it possible that the hint might be acted upon; and I am therefore constrained to repeat, what I have already stated elsewhere, that it is an houour, however signal and gratifying, of which I should not be prepared to avail myself.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient servant,

"MORPETH."

The *Dublin Evening Mail* says that Sir Henry Parnell, now Baron Congleton, is to be made a commissioner of poor laws for Ireland, to enable him "to sustain the *dignity* of the peerage."

It is rumoured in Dublin, that Sir Michael O'Loghlen, the Master of the Rolls, will be raised to the peerage; and also Mr. George Evans, the late member for the county of Dublin.

A very extraordinary and, in latter years, unexampled course of proceeding, was adopted by the Crown on the trial of Woods, for the murder of Mr. Powell, at the late assizes for Armagh. The prisoner was a Roman catholic; and every Roman catholic called upon the jury was challenged by the Crown! Men of character and standing in society—unimpeached and unimpeachable—excluded by no principle of law or rule of practice from serving upon juries, were ordered to stand aside by the crown solicitor—for what reason no one can tell, save for their religion! They were catholics! Patrick Woods was tried by a protestant jury, and convicted by a protestant jury—a jury made protestant, advisedly, by the Crown. If the fact be as we have stated it, it is incumbent upon the government—especially upon the Attorney-General—instantly to inquire into the matter, and take effective measures for informing the public whether, under a liberal administration, the old orange principle of choosing jurors according to their creed—of convicting and hanging catholics by pure protestant juries—is to be acted on with impunity by a servant of the crown.—*Dublin Monitor.*

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

A Man Cut in Two.—On Saturday last, another railway accident happened at Ashton. Several men had been drinking at Chelvey, and afterwards proceeded along the line towards Ashton, where Saul Avery fell across the railway, and the train arriving shortly afterwards, passed over him, and cut him in two. The others, who lay alongside the railway, escaped unhurt.—*Bath Journal.*

Fatal Steam-boat Accident at Richmond.—On Monday evening, the Richmond steamer on her return from Twickenham Ait, ran down a punt, in which three gentlemen were fishing. An alarm was instantly given, and two of the number were, after great exertion, saved; but the third, Mr. Dickens, 20 years of age, the son of Mr. Dickens, surgeon, of Kew, met with a watery grave. On the arrival of the Richmond at the bridge, the captain and mate were taken into custody. The deceased came down to have a day's fishing. Rumour says there was not a good look out kept on board the steamer.

Fatal Accident.—On Thursday morning, a boy about 14 years of age, servant to Mr. Bell, newsman, Finch-lane, Cornhill, was drowned at Waterloo-Bridge. It appears he and some others went to play on the floating pier, when his foot slipped, and he fell into the water. The body was carried away by the tide, and has not yet been found.

Fatal Mail-cart Accident.—The Rev. Mr. Cobbold, an elderly gentleman, on Friday evening last, was crossing from the south to the north side of Ludgate-hill, nearly opposite to the Belle Sauvage, at which inn he was staying, when he was knocked down by the horse attached to the Portsmouth mail-cart, and the wheel of the cart passed over him in an horizontal direction, crushing his right leg and thigh, and otherwise fearfully injuring his stomach, chest, and shoulder. He lingered in great agony until Sunday morning, when he expired from the dreadful injuries he had sustained.

Suicides.—The *Constitutionnel* states that a lamentable suicide has just been committed at Fontainbleau, where a widow, named Pierchon, aged 80, her son 64, and her daughter 62, to relieve themselves from the state of distress and misery to which they had been reduced, shut themselves up in a room, and produced death by suffocation from charcoal.

A Cast-iron Lighthouse.—Among the wonders of this wonder-working age we may mention a lighthouse of cast-iron (!) which is now nearly completed in London, intended to be placed on a dangerous reef of rocks at Morant Point in the Island of Jamaica. The lighthouse is 100 feet high, and 18¾ feet in diameter at the base.—*Cork Southern Reporter.*

Age of Animals.—The age of a bear rarely exceeds 20 years; a dog lives 20 years; a wolf 20; a fox 14 or 16; lions are long lived. Pompey lived to the age of seventy. The average of cats is fifteen years; a squirrel and hare, seven or eight years; rabbits seven. Elephants have been known to live to the great age of 400 years. When Alexander the Great had conquered one Phorus, King of India, he took a great elephant which had fought very valiantly for the king, and named him Ajax, and dedicated him to the sun, and let him go with this inscription:—"Alexander, the son of Jupiter, hath dedicated Ajax to the sun." This elephant was found with this inscription 350 years after. Pigs have been known to live to the age of thirty years; the rhinoceros to twenty. A horse has been known to live to the age of sixty-two, but averages twenty-five to thirty. Camels sometimes live to the age of 100. Stags are long lived. Sheep seldom exceed the age of ten. Cows live about fifteen years. Cuvier considers it probable that whales sometimes live 1000 years. The dolphin and porpoise attain the age of thirty. An eagle died at Vienna at the age of 104 years. Ravens frequently reach the age of 100. Swans have been known to live 300 years. Mr. Mallerton has the skeleton of a swan that attained the age of 200 years. Pelicans are long lived. A tortoise has been known to live to the age of 107.

Peculiarity in Orange Trees.—Many of the trees in one garden were a hundred years old, still bearing plentifully a highly-prized thin-skinned orange, full of juice, and free from pips. The thinness of the rind of a St. Michael's orange, and its freedom from pips depends on the age of the tree. The young trees, when in full vigour, bear fruit with a thick pulpy rind, and an abundance of seeds; but as the vigour of the plant declines, the peel becomes thinner, and the seeds gradually diminish in number until they disappear altogether. Thus the oranges that we esteem the most are the produce of aged trees, and those which we consider the least palatable, come from plants in full vigour.—*A winter in the Azores.*

Sale of Slaves in Virginia.—The following advertisement and account of a sale of slaves are noticed in a late report of the American Anti-Slavery Society:—"Monday next, at nine a.m., at public sale, the slaves whose names follow, all negroes of the first quality—namely, Betsy, a negro woman, 23 years of age, with her child Cæsar, three years old; an excellent cook, washer, and ironer; warranted healthy. Julia, a mulatto girl, aged 13, robust and active, a good field-labourer; with the exception of a slight defect in the left eye, she is without fault. 'Let us proceed, gentlemen, cried the seller of human flesh, in a stentorian voice; let us proceed. A woman for sale! An excellent woman; not a fault! and a little boy in the bargain. How much for the mother and child?—250 dollars; very well, Sir—250 to begin. Some one has bid 250. Truly, gentlemen, they sell cattle for a larger price; 250? look at these eyes, examine these limbs—shall I say 260? Thanks, gentlemen, some one has bid 260. It seems to me that I heard 275; go on, gentlemen; I have never sold such a bargain. How! 280 for the best cook, the best washer, and the best dress-maker in Virginia? Must I sell her for the miserable price of 280? 300; two gentlemen have said 300. Very well, gentlemen; I am happy to see you begin to warm a little. Some one bid 310—310, going—330—335—340—340; going. Upon my honour, gentlemen, it is indeed a sacrifice to lose so good a cook; a great bargain for 340 dollars. Reflect upon it a little, and do not forget there is a little boy in the bargain.' Here our auctioneer was interrupted in his harangue by one of his customers, a man whose appearance had inspired me, from the first moment, with a feeling of horror, and who, with the indifference and *sang froid* of an assassin, made to him the following observation:—'As to the negro child, it is good for nothing; it is not worth a day's nourishment; and if I have the mother, I will give away the child very quick; the first bidder will be able to have it at a cheap bargain.' I glanced at the unfortunate mother, anxious to see what effect this barbarous proposal would have upon her. She did not speak, but a profound sadness was impressed on her countenance. The little innocent which she held in her arms fixed his large eyes on her, as if saying, 'Mamma, why do you weep?' Then he turned towards the witnesses of this heart-rending scene, with an expression that seemed to ask what they had done to his mother to make her weep so bitterly? No, never will this moment escape my memory; it has confirmed me for all my life in the horror that I already felt at this infamous traffic. The auction continued, and finally the crier, striking a heavy blow with a hammer, pronounced the award to Mr. —— for 360 dollars. The victim descended from the table, and was led away by the purchaser. The other slaves were sold in the same manner as poor Betsy. Julia was sold at 326 dollars, and Augustus at 105. They both fell to the same individual who had purchased the former lot."

Means and Ends.—As in the steam-engine the most wondrous and valuable parts of the machinery are those which escape the notice of the casual visitor, so in the administration of public affairs the greatest merits of the statesman are those which escape the cognizance of the generality of mankind. Men are so dazzled by the mightiness of the powers evoked, that they pay little regard to their adaptation to the end desired; at any time, a great war producing small results is more likely to be popular than a small war producing great results. An express revelation was necessary to teach the prophet that God was was neither in the wind, nor in the earthquake, nor in the fire, but in the still small voice.

Candour.—There are people in the world who affect to despise candour, to look upon it as symptomatic of weakness, and evincing ignorance of human nature. But surely openness is the most obvious characteristic of conscious strength and integrity—secresy, the natural resource of imbecility and dishonest design. He who believes, or, what is the same thing, acts as if he believed that there is not a single honest, high-minded man in the world, is right so far as one individual is concerned—that is, himself. He who knows from his own consciousness that there is one, will not be slow to believe that there are others.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

On Thursday evening, August 12, a meeting was held in the baptist chapel, Forest row, near East Grinstead, Sussex, for the purpose of forming a church, and publicly recognizing the Rev. John Farmer, late of Stepney College, as pastor. The Rev. E. Bromfield, independent, commenced the service by reading the scriptures and prayer, after which the Rev. E. Davis, baptist, of Lewes, preached an excellent and appropriate sermon to the church and congregation, from Rom. xvi. 3. At the close of the sermon Mr. Farmer gave a brief history of the rise and progress of the chapel and cause at Forest row. Mr. Davis then read several letters from ministers of other congregations, dismissing the parties therein named from their respective churches, with the view of uniting themselves in church communion as above. The right hand of fellowship having been given to each, Mr. Davis called upon some one of them to state, on behalf of the church, whom they desired as their pastor. J. Edgar, Esq. said, the congregation having previously given an unanimous invitation to Mr. Farmer to settle amongst them, it only remained for those of them who now constituted the church to repeat their wishes, which was accordingly done by all the members holding up their hands. Mr. F., in accepting their unanimous invitation, trusted that the glory of God and their spiritual welfare would be promoted by the union. At the close of this portion of the service the Rev. J. Chater, independent, of Lindfield, delivered an impressive address to the newly-formed church; after which the ordinance of the Lord's supper was administered by Mr. Davis, the Revs. Messrs. Chater and Bromfield offering the sacramental prayers. Several strangers, members of other churches, also united on this occasion. Mr. Farmer, the pastor, concluded this interesting meeting with prayer. The attendance of the congregation was good, and we trust the solemnity of the service and the evident impression made upon the minds of the auditory, will be as lasting and beneficial as the occasion was profitable.

On Friday the 13th inst., the second anniversary of the opening of the independent chapel at Bog Mines, was held. Three sermons were preached, in the morning by the Rev. J. J. Benyon, of Dorrington: in the afternoon, by the Rev. S. Luke, of Chester; and in the evening by the Rev. J. Parry, of Hern, in Welsh. Although the weather was unfavourable the congregations throughout the day were overflowing, and the collections amounted to 15*l.* It is gratifying to think that the proprietors and agents of these mines take such an active interest in the cause of the Redeemer.

The ordination of the Rev. Frederick Pollard (late of Homerton College) over the church and congregation assembling in the independent chapel, Abbey lane, Saffron Walden, will take place on Wednesday, the 25th inst., when the Rev. Drs. J. P. Smith and Robert Vaughan, and the Rev. George Clayton of London, with other ministers, are expected to take part in the proceedings.

The recognition of the Rev. S. Packer to the pastorate of Providence chapel, Brook, Chatham, was celebrated on Thursday the 5th inst., when the Rev. P. Thomson, M.A., delivered the introductory discourse, the Rev. W. G. Lewis asked the usual questions, and offered the recognition prayer, and the Rev. J. Aldis, of Maze Pond, addressed the minister and congregation.

On Thurday last, a congregational chapel was opened in the beautiful village of Shanklin, Isle of Wight, which has hitherto been destitute of such a place of worship. The Rev. G. D. Mudie, of Portsmouth, commenced the service with reading and prayer, the Rev. J. Sherman, of Surrey Chapel, delivered a discourse from the words, "O Lord, send now prosperity;" and the Rev. Mr. Young (baptist), of Newport, concluded with prayer. In the evening, the Rev. T. S. Guyer, of Ryde, preached from the words, "I will fill this house with my glory."

BIRTHS.

August 5, at Gore House, Kensington, the widow of Sir F. G. Johnstone, Bart., of twin sons, who, with her ladyship, are doing well.

MARRIAGES.

August 18, by license, at the independent chapel, Southampton, by the Rev. J. SUTCLIFFE, Mr. GEORGE BAINES, of Leicester, to JANE, youngest daughter of Mr. JAMES KNOTT, of Ashton-under-Line.

July 29, at West Orchard chapel, Coventry, by the Rev. JOHN JERARD, Mr. ROBERT ROBINS, to MARY JANE, eldest daughter of the Rev. JOHN JERARD, both of that city.

August 10, at Altona, Lower Saxony, the Rev. JAMES SPRIGG, baptist minister of Stoke green chapel, Ipswich, to ELIZA, youngest daughter of the late Mrs. R. D. CHRISTOPHERSON, of the above place.

August 17, at the old Independent chapel, Bradford, Wilts, by the Rev. W. GEAR, the Rev. JOHN FLAVELL STENNER, minister of the independent chapel, Holt, Wilts, and son of the Rev. T. STENNER, of Dartmouth, Devon, to EMMA, third daughter of the late W. SPARKES, Esq., of Holt.

DEATHS.

August 18, in Kingstown, after an illness of two days, at the age of 86 years, the Dowager Countess of Carrick.

August 17, at Wavendon house, in the county of Bucks, Sir HENRY HUGH HOARE, Bart., in his 79th year.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, August 20.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to the act 6 and 7 Wm. IV., cap. 85:—

The High street chapel, Merthyr Tydvil, Glamorganshire. J. W. Edwards, superintendent registrar.

The independent chapel, Penzance, Cornwall. G. D. John, superintendent registrar.

The independent chapel, Bingley, Yorkshire. G. Spencer, superintendent registrar.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

EVANS, GEORGE, Llanboidy, Carmarthenshire, draper.

SOUTHALL, RICHARD, jun., Birmingham, factor.

WORSFOLD, WILLIAM, 5 and 6, Margaret street, Cavendish square, and Wells mews, Wells street, coach smith and spring maker.

BANKRUPTS.

BLOOD MICHAEL, North Audley street, Grosvenor square, surgeon, to surrender Sept. 8, Oct. 1: solicitors, Messrs. Milne and Co. Harcourt buildings, Temple.

BRETT, ROBERT, Stoke Bardolph, Nottinghamshire, corn factor, Sept. 2, Oct. 1: solicitors, Messrs. Willis and Co., 6, Tokenhouse yard, Lothbury, London, and Mr. W. G. Wagstaffe, Grantham, Lincolnshire.

COOKE, ROBERT, 5, Great George street, Bermondsey, cooper, August 28, Oct. 1: solicitors, Messrs. Vincent and Sherwood, King's bench walk, Temple.

DUNCAN, ANGUS and CHARLES, Tokenhouse yard, merchants, Sept. 6, Oct. 1: solicitor, Mr. Parker, St. Paul's church yard.

HOLMAN, JOHN, late of the Exeter Arms, Burleigh street, Strand, victualler, August 30, Oct. 1: solicitors, Messrs. Coote and Co., Austin Friars.

LEA, JAMES, sen., and PATRICK, THOMAS, Worcester, butchers, August 30, Oct. 1: solicitors, Messrs. White and Whitmore, 11, Bedford row, London, and Messrs. Finch and Jones, Worcester.

MAYBERY, CHARLES, Earl's court, Old Brompton, board and lodging house keeper, August 27, Oct. 1: solicitor, Mr. C. Parsons, Temple chambers, Fleet street.

SQUIBB, RICHARD CRADDOCK, East Cowes, Isle of Wight, rope maker, August 28, Oct. 1: solicitors, Mr. Lambert, 4, Raymond's buildings, Gray's inn, London, Messrs. Hearne, Newport, Isle of Wight, and Mr. J. Hoskins, Gosport, Hampshire.

TIMINGS, RICHARD ROBERTSON, Birmingham, grocer, Sept. 8, Oct. 1: solicitors, Mr. Whitelock, 70, Aldermanbury, London, and Mr. Suckling, Birmingham.

WARBURTON, HENRY, Harpurhey, Manchester, joiner, Sept. 11, Oct. 1: solicitors, Messrs. Johnson and Co., King's bench walk, Temple, London, and Messrs. C. and C. H. Wood, Manchester.

DIVIDENDS.

Sept. 10, Thompson, Newcastle, silk throwster—Sept. 13, Higgs, 43, Watling street, London, and Greenwich, Kent, cheesemonger—Sept. 13, Ware, Great Tower street, wholesale cheesemonger—Sept. 13, Rose, Bow lane, auctioneer—Sept. 13, Hall, jun., Hackney road, baker—Sept. 13, Moore, 1, Old Bond street, hatter—Sept. 11, Corbett, Lewisham, Kent, builder—Sept. 11, Knott, Swallow street, St. James's, wine cooper—Sept. 15, Field, Cartmel, Lancashire, banker—Sept. 21, Noble, Leicester, and Freer, Huncote, Leicestershire, hosiers—Sept. 14, Saul, Holme Cultram, Cumberland, schoolmaster—Sept. 10, Hewitt and Weatherby, Manchester, and Handforth, Cheshire, calico printers—Nov. 15, Foxwell, Painswick, Gloucestershire, clothier—Sept. 13, Henderson, Manchester, bookseller—Sept. 13, Gill and Smelt, Manchester, merchants—Sept. 16, Hampson, Liverpool, broker—Sept. 11, H. and J. Hindley, Halshaw moor, Lancashire, cotton spinners.

CERTIFICATES—Sept. 10.

Hill, Taunton St. Mary Magdalen, Somersetshire, draper—Martin, King street, Cheapside, woollen warchouseman—Swan, 23, Seymour place, Camden town, jeweller.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Marshall and Crippen, 8, Eastcheap, London, wholesale tea dealers—T. and T. S. Richardson, 21, Great Russell street, Covent garden, booksellers—Mells and Turlay, Manchester, merchant tailors—E. D. and D. C. Alston, Manningtree, Essex, brewers—Harford and Co., Sirhowy works and Ebbu Vale works, Monmouthshire, and Bristol, iron masters—Richmond and Smith, Manchester, general commission agents—Charlesworth and Battye, Deanhouse, Yorkshire, storekeepers—J., J., and W. Bagshaw, Dewsbury, Yorkshire, brass founders (so far as regards John Bagshaw)—Wood and Co., 53, Threadneedle street, City, grocers—Widdows and Currey, Leigh, Lancashire, grocers—Milnes and Metcalfe, Halifax, Yorkshire, wool comb makers—Waller and Cheetham, Huddersfield, Yorkshire, woolstaplers—W. and T. West, 3, London terrace, Hackney road, Middlesex, linen drapers—Fisher and Co., 12, York place, Old Kent road, Surrey, brush manufacturers—Bush and Dudman, Montague close, Southwark, hop merchants—Harris and Lamford, New Cut, Lambeth, ironmongers—Gervas and Pattinson, land 2, Aldgate, London, linen drapers—R. and J. Johnson, 20, Langley place, Commercial road, Whitechapel, curriers—E. and G. P. Spawforth, Castle court, Budge row, London, wine merchants—Thackrah and Lockwood, Duke street, Southwark, hop merchants—Sinnock and Morgan, Bristol, tea dealers—Storey and Co., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, flax dressers (so far as regards Thomas Storey).

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

ANDERSON, ALEXANDER, Glasgow, writer, August 30, Sept. 24.

BENTLEY, WILLIAM, Glasgow, merchant, August 25, Sept. 15.

WILSON, JAMES, Edinburgh, general merchant, August 23, Sept. 13.

Tuesday, August 24.

INSOLVENT.

NICKSON, THOMAS, Blackpool, Lancashire, innkeeper.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

HARDY, JAMES, Wednesbury, Staffordshire, iron master.

BANKRUPTS.

ALLIES, EDWARD, Alfrick, Worcestershire, timber merchant, Sept. 2, Oct. 5: solicitors, Messrs. White and Whitemore, 11, Bedford row, London, and Messrs. Finch and Jones, Worcester.

GILLIES, JAMES, Hartlepool, Durham, ship-owner, September 13, October 5: solicitors, Messrs. Swain and Co., Frederick's place, Old Jewry, and Mr. Wrights, Sunderland.

KING, JOHN BRINKLEY, Old Broad street, carpenter, September 3, October 5: solicitors, Messrs, Hine and Robinson, Charterhouse square.

MIDLANE, JOHN, Brading, Isle of Wight, ironmonger, Sept. 8, Oct. 5: solicitors, Messrs. Hearn, Newport and Ryde, and Messrs. Forsters and Evans, 28, John street, Bedford row, London.

PHELPS, ROBERT, Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, scrivener, August 30, October 5: solicitors, Mr. Church, Bedford row, London, and Mr. Chandler, Tewkesbury.

PARKER, FRANCIS, Masbrough and Ickles Mills, Yorkshire, oil merchant, Sept. 7, October 5: solicitors, Mr. Taylor, 14, John street, Bedford row, London, and Mr. Hoyle, Rotherham.

ROBINSON, RICHARD, Low Lights, North Shields, Northumberland, common brewer, Sept. 10, Oct. 5: solicitors, Messrs. Holme and Co., New inn, London, and Messrs. Tinley, North Shields.

SHORT, GEORGE, jun., Salisbury, Wiltshire, grocer, August 31, Oct. 5: solicitor, Mr. Murray, New London street, Fenchurch street, London.

DIVIDENDS.

Sept. 16. T. and W. Styan, Great Tower street, City, tea brokers—Sept. 16, Marsh, Great Scotland yard, navy agent—Sept. 27, Forsell, Leicester, hosier—Oct. 20, Lloyd, Beaumaris, Anglesey, farmer—Sept. 24, Skurray, Swindon, Wiltshire, ironmonger.

CERTIFICATES—September 14.

Smalley, Liverpool, joiner—Lucy, jun., Liverpool, tailor—Jordan, Leeds, joiner—Hill, now or late of Walsall, Staffordshire, and also of Birmingham, plumber—Freer, Huncote, Leicestershire, hosier—Shaw, Newgate Market, City, cheesemonger—Windeatt, South Brent, Devonshire, corn factor—Brooke, Leeds, grocer—Spry, Bath, surgeon—Couchman, Throgmorton street, London, printer.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Dobson and Co., Kidderminster, Worcestershire, carpet manufacturers (so far as regards James Dobson, jun.)—Brown and Moore, Spalding, Lincolnshire, builders—A. and J. Mountain, Knaresborough, Yorkshire, linen manufacturers—Porter and Custard, Yeovil, Somersetshire, booksellers—Richards and Richardson, Manchester, hat manufacturers—Leaf and Co., Wood street, Cheapside (so far as regards Thomas Smith)—Longdon and Wood, 13, Eccleston street south, Pimlico, tailors—Ovens and Lamport, Manchester, cotton spinners—D. and J. M'Gregor, 17, Wood street, Cheapside, woollen warehousemen—Lloyd and Carter, Liverpool, wholesale druggists—Penny and Underhill, Torquay, Devonshire, tailors—Holland and Roberts, 65, Conduit street, London, milliners—Reeve and Marshall, 16, Philpot lane, Fenchurch street, London, wholesale grocers—Bradshaw and Co., Frimley hill, near Bagshot, Surrey, patent dribbling machine manufacturers—Jackson and Co., 56, Paddington street, St. Marylebone, and Oval road, Park street, Camden town, pianoforte manufacturers (so far as regards Joseph Jackson)—Webster and Co., Sheffield, merchants (so far as regards Henry Johnson)—C. and W. Beetles, St. Neot's, Huntingdonshire, fellmonger.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

COCK, WILLIAM, Dundee, manufacturer, August 30, September 20.

ROBB, JOHN, Edinburgh, builder, August 30, September 20.

BRITISH FUNDS.

	Wed.	*Thurs.*	*Fri.*	*Sat.*	*Mon.*	*Tues.*
3 per cent. Consols	89⅛	89⅛	89⅛	89⅛	89⅛	89⅛
Ditto for Account	89⅛	89⅛	89⅛	89⅛	89⅛	89⅛
3 per cents. Reduced	89⅛	89⅛	89⅛	89⅛	89⅛	89⅛
3½ per cents. Reduced	98⅛	98⅛	99	99	98⅞	98⅞
New 3½ per cent.	98⅛	98⅛	98⅛	98⅛	98⅛	98⅛
Long Annuities	12⅛	12⅛	12⅛	12⅛	12⅛	13
Bank Stock	168	169	169	169	169	168
India Stock	247	247	—	247	247	247
Exchequer Bills	13 pm.	13 pm.	14 pm.	14 pm.	14 pm.	16 pm.
India Bonds, 3 per cent.	—	4 pm.	3 pm.	4 pm.	6 pm.	6 pm.

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, August 23.

The supply of English wheat last week was moderate, and we have a good supply to this day's market, about half of which is new wheat. The trade was depressed, and prices lowered by constant fine weather the last ten days; but heavy rain this morning caused more firmness in the market, and the English wheat has been taken at a decline of 1s. to 2s. on old, and about 3s. on new wheat. The new red wheat has been sold at 60s. to 70s., and the white at 60s. to 75s. per qr. There has been very little done in wheat in bond; but some sellers would submit to a reduction of 3s. to 4s. per qr. from our highest prices.

We have a fair demand for flour at late prices.

In barley we have had very little business, and prices are without alteration.

Beans and peas are also the same as last week; free and beans in bond are 2s. per qr. dearer.

The supply of oats is large, and the trade this morning is dull at last week's prices.

	s.	s.		s.	s.		s.	s.
Wheat, Red New	60	to 70	Malt, Ordinary	50	to 53	Beans, Old	37	to 40
Fine	70	.. 80	Pale	58	.. 60	Harrow	37	.. 39
White	60	.. 75	Peas, Hog	34	.. 38	Oats, Feed	22	.. 24
Fine	72	.. 84	Maple	36	.. 41	Fine	25	.. 29
Rye	32	.. 36	Boilers	37	.. 38	Poland	24	.. 28
Barley	27	.. 30	Beans, Ticks	35	.. 36	Potato	23	.. 27
Malting	34	to 38						

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR AUGUST 20.			AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF SIX WEEKS.			DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN FOR THE PRESENT WEEK.		
Wheat	72*s.*	5*d.*	Wheat	67*s.*	9*d.*	Wheat	18*s.*	8*d.*
Barley	35	11	Barley	33	7	Barley	12	4
Oats	23	6	Oats	22	11	Oats	13	9
Rye	36	3	Rye	35	3	Rye	16	9
Beans	42	1	Beans	40	2	Beans	9	6
Peas	43	1	Peas	43	6	Peas	5	0

PROVISIONS, LONDON, August 23.

During the past week nothing of interest was passing in the market. In Irish butter the transactions were few and unimportant, and the prices as last quoted. The price of the best Dutch continues at 98s.

Bacon in steady demand, landed at 61s. to 64s.; bale and tierce middles found ready buyers at improved prices.

Lard in free sale, and rather higher in value.

Hams have but little varied in price or demand. No change in mess pork.

HOPS, BOROUGH, August 23.

In consequence of the fine weather for the new crop the market is dull. The duty has risen to £160,000, and Worcester is estimated at £18,000. For pockets of the growth of 1839 and 40 there has been some demand, owing to their scarcity, but lower prices have been accepted from the circumstance of more favourable accounts having been received from the plantations.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, August 23.

The arrivals of beasts were of middling and inferior quality. The primest supported, in most instances, the currencies noted on Monday last; but all other sorts declined 2d. per 8lbs. Sheep came freely to hand, while the inquiry for them was on the whole dull, at last week's quotations. The lamb trade heavy, and prices almost nominal. In calves little was doing, at late rates. Neat small porkers sold readily, but in other kinds scarcely anything was doing.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef	3*s.* 2*d.*	to 4*s.* 6*d.*	Pork	4*s.* 0*d.*	to 4*s.* 10*d.*
Mutton	3 4	.. 4 8	Lamb	4 6	.. 5 4
Veal	4 2	.. 5 4			

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday	660	8,270	305	401
Monday	2,903	28,290	155	616

NEWGATE and LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, August 23.

Per 8lbs. by the carcase.

Inferior Beef	3*s.* 0*d.*	to 3*s.* 2*d.*	Inferior Mutton	3*s.* 4*d.*	to 3*s.* 6*d.*
Middling ditto	3 2	.. 3 4	Middling ditto	3 8	.. 3 10
Prime large ditto	3 4	.. 3 6	Prime ditto	4 0	.. 4 4
Prime small ditto	3 6	.. 3 8	Veal	4 0	.. 4 8
Large Pork	3 10	.. 4 4	Small Pork	4 6	.. 4 8

Lamb, 4s. 8d. to 5s. 0d.

HAY, SMITHFIELD, August 23.—At per load of 36 trusses.

Coarse Meadow Hay	90*s.*	to 95*s.*	New Clover Hay	90*s.*	to 110*s.*
New ditto	75	.. 95	Old ditto	105	.. 126
Useful ditto	96	.. 100	Oat Straw	44	.. 46
Fine Upland and Rye Grass	102	.. 105	Wheat Straw	48	.. 50

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, August 24.

TEA.—There was a moderate business done, and at improving prices. Company's Congou brought 2s. 5½d. per lb. cash, and low free trade Congou of sound quality was not to bought below 2s. 7d. per lb. cash. The principal importers refused to sell, being convinced that the present reduced stock justifies even higher prices than now rule.

COFFEE.—Coffee of all kinds in good request, and prices of clean midds. and good qualities look up.

SUGAR.—British Plantation Sugar went off slowly; the buyers did not take more than enough for immediate wants, in anticipation that the large surplus stock will cause prices to decline still further. Refined Sugar very dull and lower. Sales made in good grocery lumps at 89s. per cwt.

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